



Daily Report

East Europe

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Bosnia-Hercegovina

Zagreb radio reports that the Presidency "as a CSCE member, will seek military assistance from abroad." Foreign Minister Haris Silajdzic will "advocate this" at the next CSCE session. The Presidency also decided that "military personnel and civilians working for the Second Military District Command who were captured yesterday be freed." The Presidency stated that the prisoners "will be allowed to express their preferences about their future status clearly, in the presence of representatives of the Bosnia-Hercegovina Territorial Defense, the former JNA (Yugoslav People's Army), the UN Protection Force, and the European Community, and their free will will be respected."

Croatia

Zagreb radio reports that President Franjo Tudjman's weekly conference focused on the crisis in Bosnia-Hercegovina and Croatia's "reaction" to the situation. In response to questions, Tudjman stated that "Croatia is not planning to intervene in Bosnia-Hercegovina with its forces, because Croatia has accepted the involvement of the European Community, the United Nations, and the Security Council, to solve the crisis on the entire area of former Yugoslavia, peacefully." President Tudjman expressed disappointment with international efforts stating that "unfortunately, the EC and the CSCE, and the Security Council, have so far taken only political and diplomatic steps, which have not proved effective enough." Asked to interpret the "indecisiveness on the part of the international community," President Tudjman responded that "we cannot ignore the fact that efforts of the international diplomacy produced some results" but expressed hope that the "international factors, including the United States as the leading world power which has the most powerful influence within the process of UN decisionmaking, would take some more concrete and more effective steps."

Yugoslavia

In response to protests from Yugoslav People's Army (JNA) soldier's parents, General Blagoje Adzic, Yugoslav secretary for national defense stated the JNA will "do everything in its power to secure the end to conflicts and to protect the lives of army members in the former Yugoslav Republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina." According to TANJUG, the parents were "upset over the massacre" during the evacuation of the JNA command of the Second Yugoslav Army District in Sarajevo. After handing over President Alija Izetbegovic, the army was attacked and "at least two Yugoslav Army officers and two soldiers were killed and 15 were wounded." The parents posted signs that said "Order our recruits back immediately." The Yugoslav Presidency decided "that all citizens of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia who are members of the JNA in Bosnia-Hercegovina must return to the territory... within 15 days."

Kosovo—Ljubljana radio reports that the "Information Center of the Democratic Alliance of Kosovo" warned that military forces are concentrating in several parts of the Kosovo, especially along the border with Macedonia and Albania. "Serbs and Montenegrins" were asked to report to Kosovo barracks and a large number of Serbian reservists had arrived in Mitrovica. According to the "Information Center of the Democratic Alliance of Kosovo," "arms continue to be distributed among the Serbs and Montenegrins... additionally complicating the already tense situation in Kosovo."

Malaysia Recognizes Bosnia, Croatia, Slovenia

*LD0405085992 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network
in Serbo-Croatian 0800 GMT 4 May 92*

[Text] Malaysia today recognized Croatia, Slovenia, and Bosnia-Herzegovina and called for the end of conflict in former Yugoslavia. Foreign Affairs Minister Ahmad Badawi Abdullah said foreign forces, obviously referring to the Yugoslav Army, should withdraw from occupied areas.

Romania Elected to UN Human Rights Commission

*AU0105172592 Bucharest ROMPRES in English
1301 GMT 1 May 92*

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 1/05/1992—These days the ECOSOC [Economic and Social Council] session is taking place at the United Nations headquarters in New

York. By secret suffrage, with a majority of votes, Romania was elected—during the first ballot—member of the UN Human Rights Commission.

The seats in that commission are distributed according to geographical areas, this year the East European group having two seats for which five countries candidated: Byelarus, Yugoslavia, Poland, Romania, and Hungary. A second ballot was held for the second seat which was won by Poland.

This year Romania has been elected in the Human Rights Commission, in the subcommission to prevent discrimination and to protect minorities, in the committee for the elimination of racial discrimination, and in the economic, social and cultural rights committee; further, it will participate in the activity of the main UN human rights organisms.

Government Not To Recognize SFRY Successor

AU0405194792 Tirana Radio Tirana Network
in Albanian 1730 GMT 4 May 92

[Statement issued by the Albanian Government in Tirana on 4 May]

[Text] After acquainting itself with the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia [FRY] Assembly's resolution of 27 April 1992 on approving the Constitution of the FRY, the government of the Republic of Albania declares as follows:

The government of the Republic of Albania cannot recognize the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia as the SFRY's successor because it was proclaimed against the law by only a part of the FRY Assembly and does not consider the will of all parties. This resolution ignores the people's right to self-determination, including the right of the Albanian population, which constitutes an undeniable violation of international law and the relevant provisions of the CSCE documents. The Albanian Government thinks that the resolution to create a new Yugoslavia is an attempt to legalize the military state of emergency long ago established in Kosovo and to legally justify a new military conflict in Kosovo following that in Bosnia-Herzegovina. At the same time, it aims to proclaim that Serbia and the Yugoslav Army it controls are innocent of the victims and incalculable losses that have been inflicted on the former Yugoslav republics.

The Albanian Government considers that this resolution totally ignores the statements and conclusions of international institutions and organizations, including the CSCE statement of 15 April condemning those responsible for the Yugoslav crisis and especially the crisis of Bosnia-Herzegovina.

Concerning the participation in such international forums as the United Nations, the CSCE, etc., of a state that may possibly be created by the free will of the Serbs and Montenegrins alone, the Albanian Government expresses its view that the same procedure should be followed as for the other new states that have emerged from the disintegration of the former Yugoslavia. On this occasion, the Albanian Government appeals to the EEC and the United States, in their negotiations on the question of a successor to the former Yugoslavia, to consider the will of the Albanian people legally expressed through their referendum for independence from Serbia.

PD Chairman Selami Receives Mitsotakis

AU0405134392 Tirana ATA in English 0935 GMT
4 May 92

[Text] Tirana, May 4 (ATA)—The Information Office of the PD [Democratic Party] reports that on May 3 the chairman of the PD, Mr. Eduard Selami, met with the premier of Greece, Konstandinos Mitsotakis. Mr. Selami aired his opinion for a further cooperation between his party and that of the New Democracy of Mitsotakis.

In continuation Mr. Selami briefed him on the new political situation created after March 22 as well as the main political directions of the PD. He stressed that the elections in Albania marked the dawn of a new epoch in the history of Albania and of the PD, as the most successful anticommunist party of Eastern Europe.

The chairman of the PD laid the stress on the special importance this party devotes to the relations with Greece as a neighbouring country and member of the European Community and stressed that with the victory of democracy in Albania all opportunities exist for the promotion of relations between Albania and Greece on the basis of the mutual benefit and respect, based on a European contemporary spirit.

On his part, Mr. Mitsotakis laid the stress on the importance they attach to the relations between the two parties as the base for relations of all levels and expressed the desire for more frequent contacts of various party levels. Further on Mr. Mitsotakis put forth the idea of a summit party meeting in Athens with the democratic parties of the Balkans and of Eastern Europe taking part to initiate cooperation in the region.

President Berisha Interviewed on Current Situation

AU0305190292 Budapest NEPSZAVA in Hungarian
29 Apr 92 pp 1,3

[Interview with President Sali Berisha by Andras Deak and Csaba Szerdahelyi in Tirana; date not given: "Albania Chooses an Open-Door Policy"]

[Text] According to the new Albanian president, who belongs to the Democratic Party, his country will clearly follow an open-door policy in the future. At the same time, Sali Berisha noted that Albania is making definite efforts to establish mutual relations because the small Balkan country may become a serious and reliable partner to many countries in a few years, however surprising this may sound. This is the first time that Berisha has given an interview to Hungarian correspondents in his new capacity as president. The 47-year-old, who is a surgeon by profession, was mainly asked about the political and economic tasks by our correspondents.

[NEPSZAVA] The economic problems are well known, but what other tasks need to be solved urgently in your view?

[Berisha] Indeed, it is no secret that Albania is Europe's most underdeveloped and poorest state. This is mainly the result of the communist past because the economy was being exploited for a long time. Being enclosed, the economy's development was not dealt with, and everything we produced was consumed. However, this small country cannot be self-sufficient in many things, and this has led to the current catastrophe.

[NEPSZAVA] Two elections were held within one year. During the few days we have spent in Tirana, we have

often heard that the people's patience is running out. Is it possible that there will be another election next year?

[Berisha] It is perfectly natural that people are impatient. We waited a very long time to live in freedom and democracy. Now, no one can question our freedom and democracy. In my view, we need at least two years to stabilize the political situation; therefore, it is possible that the elections will have to be moved up again. However, I do not think that this would be good for the country.

[NEPSZAVA] Your party, the Albanian Democratic Party, that won one month ago, maintains close relations with the new trade union movement. Does this also mean that you do not wish to work together with the traditional trade union confederation?

[Berisha] There is a great need for both the independent and the old trade union movement primarily to work together in the interest of the workers but not to fight against each other. However, the latter seems to be happening now. We lined up behind the independents because it is a fact that the old trade union was one of the bases of the communists; therefore, they have to prove their true new intentions now. Naturally, the new government does not exclude the possibility of working together with the old confederation, and we have actually started discussions with them. However, in my view, the government simply cannot interfere in the internal affairs of the trade unions because this is not its task. I would also like to point out that, in the current difficult situation, the government will not support the efforts of trade unions that can only think in terms of organizing general strikes, thus inciting against the new leadership right away.

[NEPSZAVA] Albania is just now learning about pluralism. According to the latest figures, there are 22 parties now. Can you expect the parties to support your work or will the opposition come to the forefront?

[Berisha] First of all, I do not oppose the appearance of new parties because this is a natural thing in democracy. It is also natural for the parties outside government to be in opposition. The greatest problem in Albania today is that small parties could be mushrooming in the future because 300 signatures are enough to register a new political organization. I believe that it would not be good for the country to be so fragmented politically.

[NEPSZAVA] What is your opinion about your biggest opponent, the Socialist Party?

[Berisha] During the campaign before the 1991 elections, the Socialist Party proved several times that it was still working with the old Marxist methods and, of course, it is not only me who does not find this attractive. Today, it is not enough anymore just to use nice words. The time of action has indeed come. The democrats won this year's elections and this way the majority of people also expressed what they thought of the ex-communists. I think the same as the masses who voted for us.

[NEPSZAVA] Precisely due to the political problems of the past, hundreds of thousands have fled Albania. Do you see a chance for these people to return?

[Berisha] The family unification program is a very important task. Parents and children are indeed living separately in very many cases. In addition to the political oppression, many Albanians emigrated to Italy, Spain, Portugal, and Greece to ensure their mere livelihood and to financially help those staying behind. Naturally, it would be good if we were able to cope with the refugee issue ourselves, but we need Europe's help to do this. For example, we could be given work permits in some countries. The number of emigrants could be quickly decreased then.

[NEPSZAVA] Regarding the Albanians living abroad, let me ask your view on the situation of the Albanians in Kosovo.

[Berisha] Very briefly, my answer to this is that because of the political war raging in the region, the extension of the war to Kosovo could be a danger for the whole of Europe.

[NEPSZAVA] What will be the basis and the main direction of Albanian foreign policy?

[Berisha] We must follow a policy of open doors because this is the only chance to go into Europe through the doors that were closed to us during Enver Hoxha's time.

[NEPSZAVA] Do you think that the United States and the West European countries will provide actual financial help to this program in the long term?

[Berisha] We cannot delude ourselves by thinking that we can base our future on Western aid programs. Our goal is to seek mutual relations in all areas of the economy.

[NEPSZAVA] You are a renowned surgeon. How did you become involved in politics, and would you like to return to your original profession?

[Berisha] You may believe me that I do not plan to have a political career. However, when the Democratic Party was being formed, I was contacted and I accepted the task. Naturally, it is not at all impossible that I would return to the medical profession sometime in the future. However, you understand that I have a different task now.

PD Paper Profiles New Chairman Selami

AU0205184592 Tirana RILINDJA DEMOKRATIKE
in Albanian 18 Apr 92 p 1

[Text] Eduard Selami was born in Elbasan in 1961. He graduated in 1985 from the Philosophy Department of Juridical and Political Sciences Faculty with excellent grades. After graduation, he worked as a lecturer at Tirana University. Since its beginning he was active in the students' movement of 1990 as representative of the

University Teachers' Residence 18. He is a founding member of the Democratic Party [PD]. He has been secretary of the PD Managing Council, and since the assembly of September 1991 he has been the PD's secretary. Mr. Eduard Selami is one of the most respected new political figures in Albania. He has a broad range of knowledge and enjoys a good reputation in the international arena.

He has directly worked in compiling the electoral PD's program and propagating it. He has represented the PD with dignity at home and abroad in rallies, meetings, news conferences, and various international activities.

Mr. Eduard Selami belongs to that new generation of talented intellectuals who, with their broad knowledge and social commitment, are a hope for Albania on its road to integration into Europe. Together with other PD leaders, he has made a special contribution to the historic victory of 22 March.

Devotion, ability, sincerity and honesty have given him recognition as a complete and pure political figure. The full indictment that its voters gave him by electing him PD chairman is the first step in successfully leading the PD as the country's main political force and guiding Albanian society by overcoming the consequences of a communist dictatorship.

Article Views Transition to Market Economy

AU0305193592 Tirana RILINDJA DEMOKRATIKE
in Albanian 8 Apr 92 p 2

[Mitro Cela article: "Intermezzo Between Two Economic Systems"]

[Text] Socialism in Albania was defeated. Socialism lost, but it is not destroyed. It is still alive in every facet of life. Look at the state: It is one of the most typical socialist states. A strong giant. The socialist economy, a culture knitted for more than half a century, survives. The transition from the socialist economy to market economy cannot be made a day. It cannot be accomplished by an official order. It also cannot be completed with the magic wand of the pseudodemocrats. Neither can it be done by praying to God high above in the sky, nor by begging the West to send food aid. The transition requires time. It requires thorough and well-thought-out economic reforms. It requires the assistance of Western states and their institutions. How long will this period last? When will we inaugurate the market economy? There is an answer: This depends on the mind and culture of our experts and on the patience and courage of Albanians to withstand sacrifices.

Since the March of 1991 up to the present time, the activation of these two factors has not yet brought close the day when the market economy will be inaugurated, on the contrary it has pushed this day further away. Not a single reform was carried out, even a partial financial one. The Albanian lek does not perform any role in the economic life. Trade privatization was and is being

carried out not in conformity with the economic logic, but according to the desire of sellers. The supermarkets and stores are being broken up and divided according to mediocre taste. It is a seller's market. He draws up and applies the law any way he pleases. This tableau shows that the theoretical idea about privatization has degenerated. This privatization idea escaped from the hands of experts, because they themselves were not capable and lacked education to carry out this rather delicate operation. It failed because they tried to carry out privatization from above, from the state and after the socialist model. The Finance Ministry merely looks on without taking action.

The socialist system in the countryside and the agricultural cooperatives were broken up by official order. The breakup reminds one more of destruction. Cattle were kidnapped and stables were ruined. Schools, post offices, and trade shops were looted. All property belonging to the state or a group in the countryside ceased to exist. Even if the schools are functioning, they lack windows and their desks and blackboards are broken.

Should we have broken up agricultural cooperatives? Certainly, yes. Before breaking them up, the experts should have first considered: How to break them up and how to substitute for them when necessary? Let us judge this apparently contradicting opinion. Imagine a mountainous agricultural cooperative. Its members receive only 10 leks for every working day. One fine day, the cooperative breaks up. Now the peasants have the land, cattle, and products. They only lack money. Someone may say: Let them sell their products. This is a good idea, but the city is very far away. They need money to buy salt and fuel and notebooks for the students. The peasants righteously remember the money they got during the time of the cooperative. It was really very little, but it is better than nothing. Will we perhaps reestablish cooperatives today? Not those of the socialist type. We may take models from the Western countries. They would better suit several of our former mountainous cooperatives. Before executing the official order for breaking up the cooperatives, they should have thought about agrarian banks, credits, machinery and seeds.

Let us take a look at industry. Many enterprises have closed their doors. The workers are paid 80 percent of their former wages because of a lack of raw materials. During a whole year without production, many production lines and units are out of use. An example of destruction is the Printing House in Tirana, whose walls, windows, and vehicles have been destroyed. White-collar workers of the enterprise, the district's committee and ministry are spectators alone. In mechanical factories, machineries have remained naked with absolutely no spare parts. Everything is destroyed in clothing enterprises. The same tableau is seen in railway, construction, and food enterprises.

Is it possible to privatize these sectors? It was very difficult yesterday. Today it is perhaps impossible. No one would take the risk to invest, because it would be the

same as throwing out your money. The luring of foreign investors, events, decisions, courts, bureaucracy, delays of red tape, and centralism have driven the foreigners away rather than attracting them.

What about the patience and sacrifices of the people? There exists a pan-Albanian irrational thought: Everyone is asking for wage increases. The workers of the Steelworks Combine are paid 80 percent of their salaries. They are asking for a multiple wage increase, otherwise they will destroy the combine. The teachers are asking for a wage increase, or else they will go on strike. Employees reject foreign ownership of businesses, or they threaten to kill themselves in a hunger strike.

All these demands are fair, necessary, and vital. Life has become very difficult. Inflation is reaching the skies. The prices are scandalous. Fulfilling these demands for wage increases is beyond every economic logic. The treasury is empty. The state spends money without earning revenue. No income is created. Exports are paralyzed. Industrial production is at minimal limits. Incomes created by applying the fiscal policy do not bear any weight on the scale of the economic balance.

The architects of this psychology are many. The first is the effect of tradition. In the socialist economy, the amount of money in circulation is subject more to the management order than to economic mechanisms. Under these circumstances the workers think that the state is rolling in money. Thus, they think, let us go forward and ask for wage and pension increases. They forget that in the socialist economy the wages and pensions were frozen.

The scene is different in this transitional period. We have wage and pension increases. We have payment of salaries without working. Moreover, we have a dizzying price increase. The moral is: Every wage increase is accompanied by uncontrolled price increases. Inflation

has become the king of the market. The second reason is that unstudied wage adjustments have been carried out in some sectors. That is why it is paradoxical that the salary of a sergeant in the army is higher than the salary of the prime minister. Such amateur actions instigate among the people the idea that if the government wants, it may increase wages at will.

The third reason is price liberalization. The economic life reminds you of a drugstore scale. In this specific case we have the price of goods on one side of the scale and the fiscal policy represented by taxation, taxes, and customs houses on the other. What happened in our country? Price liberalization was legalized, a very necessary thing, a daily demand. What about the other side of the scale? No weight was put on it. So the equilibrium was broken. Chaos came. A bottle of wine that cost six leks is sold at 400 leks in the private stores today. A plate of fish that cost 12 leks, now costs 250 leks. In broad daylight, a packet of cigarettes is sold at 25 leks. A kilo of potatoes is sold at 17 leks. The consumers know a lot of other examples.

Anyone who does not know the economic mechanisms and the fiscal policy asks for a price ceiling, a ceiling controlled by the state. Such a requirement comes from the tradition of solving problems through the state's decision and intervention. Now the situation is different. Fiscal policy should take the place of order and governmental provision. Speculators are the first to raise prices. The big fish, after eating the small one, is now ruining the consumers. The same people control the dollar exchange rate and make the price policy. They also make the law in our families. The finance workers know this situation, but they are incapable of compiling a financial policy to put this chaos of prices under control. The Finance Police have no shelter for themselves, not to think of wheeler-dealers. The investigator, procurator, and policeman are interested in politics much more than in the smuggler, saboteur, and wheeler-dealer. Poor consumer! He is abandoned and left at the mercy of chaos.

Ganev Explains Delay in Relations With Macedonia

AU0405144792 Sofia BTA in English 1351 GMT
4 May 92

[Text] Sofia, May 4 (BTA)—Meeting the press today, Foreign Minister Stoyan Ganev specified Bulgaria's relations with some countries.

During his brief visit to Spain last week, Foreign Minister Stoyan Ganev assured his Spanish counterpart Mr. Francisco Fernandez-Ordonez that Bulgaria will not increase its ferrous metal exports to Spain. Spain set the settlement of this problem as a precondition for the start of negotiations on Bulgaria's association with the EC. Mr. Ganev said that Industry and Trade Minister Ivan Pushkarov is leaving for Madrid tomorrow to sign an appropriate agreement with the Spanish minister of industry, trade and tourism. "This matter is settled and there is no reason why the negotiations should not start," Mr. Ganev said. Bulgaria will keep exporting to Spain an annual 20,000 tonnes of nonferrous metals worth about 12 million U.S. dollars.

Mr. Ganev said that in June or July the Black Sea countries—Ukraine, Russia, Bulgaria, Turkey and Romania—will sign an agreement which has already been drafted and initialled. The chief diplomat stressed that on the insistence of Bulgaria, Greece will take part in the signing as a co-founder. He assessed this fact as a bridge of cooperation between countries in the region.

"Bulgaria will establish diplomatic relations with the Republic of Macedonia when we find out that their establishment will contribute to a fine atmosphere in the Balkans rather than cause complications," Mr. Ganev said when asked why Bulgaria takes its time establishing diplomatic ties with Macedonia after it was the first to recognize the independence of the former Yugoslav republic. In his view, Bulgaria is indifferent to the condition set by the European Community that Macedonia adopt a different name.

The foreign minister said that a Bulgarian diplomat was present at the Act of Proclamation of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia because this country seeks to keep abreast of developments, to know what is going on. He reiterated that Bulgaria has no territorial claims and designs on any neighbouring state.

Bulgaria manages to balance its foreign policy in a Balkan situation which has been the most complicated for decades, Mr. Ganev said. In his view, this balance qualifies the country as a European state.

Ganev 'Accused' of Leaking Diplomats-Agents List

AU0305162092 Sofia BTA in English 1548 GMT
3 May 92

[Text] Sofia, May 3 (BTA)—The chairman of the Bulgarian Atlantic Club, Mr. Solomon Pasi, accused today Foreign Minister Stoyan Ganev of being responsible for the making and divulgence of the list of Bulgarian

intelligence agents, which was circulated here two months ago. Mr. Pasi made this statement in a prestigious midday political show on the national radio. The list in question, though slightly modified (omitting the names), was published in the independent weekly REPORTER 7 in February. The list is said to have originally contained the names and brief records of intelligence agents based at Bulgaria's diplomatic representations abroad.

Mr. Pasi believes Minister Ganev should be held responsible for his involvement in such, as he called them, criminal deeds. Even two months ago, Mr. Ganev appealed to the Prosecutor General's Office to investigate the circumstances under which the list had been made, circulated and reportedly passed to a foreign embassy, as it was claimed by some people, and insisted that legal measures be duly taken. The case is still under investigation and the Prosecutor's Office has not come up with an official statement.

Immediately after Mr. Pasi stated his accusations, Minister Ganev made a telephone call to the radio. He said Mr. Pasi was using unconfirmed facts most incompetently and irresponsibly, which, in jurist terms, tantamounted to a libel. Mr. Ganev used the occasion to once again appeal to the prosecutor general to institute criminal proceedings against Mr. Pasi.

Mr. Solomon Pasi was a member of the former Grand National Assembly, not reelected in the new parliament. He is a member of the Green Party and now also a member of a public committee, set up to seek the truth in this case.

Defense Minister Denies Intention To Resign

AU0505103492 Sofia TRUD in Bulgarian
24 Apr 92 pp 1,6

[Interview with Minister of Defense Dimitur Ludzhev by unidentified TRUD correspondent; place and date not given: "The Defense Minister Refuses To Raise the White Banner"]

[Excerpt] [Passage omitted] [TRUD] Mr. Ludzhev, is it possible that the request for your resignation could be attributed to the trade unions?

[Ludzhev] As far as the trade unions are concerned, I have always expressed the same view. Even at the time when Konstantin Trenchev organized his so-called "coup," I said that we should distinguish between the Podkrepa Labor Confederation and Trenchev as an individual. Since taking office I have repeated that it is a mistake to disregard and destroy the mechanisms of cooperation. I have always sought a constructive dialogue.

[TRUD] All your colleagues were surprised by the news of the request for your resignation. They, reportedly,

read about it in the newspapers, while the request was not discussed at the Union of Democratic Forces (SDS) National Coordinating Council.

[Ludzhev] That is natural. The public is calling for changes in the cabinet, namely in the departments where things are not going well, while, all of a sudden, the person in whose department everything is perfect appears to be inconvenient. I am certain that the Ministry of Defense is the only department that has never been officially criticized. We managed to fulfill everything that we call the SDS program. I will frankly admit that I am concerned about a strange coincidence, namely that the request for my resignation coincides with the deadline for the introduction of specific reforms in the payrolls and staffs of the officers' corps and brigades, which was expected for the end of April 1992. This will affect the careers of many high-ranking officers. Many of them are expected to retire by the end of the training year. I think that the young officers support me. However, like everywhere else, in the Army, too, many people are unwilling to part with their powerful posts.

[TRUD] There are certain indications that the prime minister's action in your case is connected with the relations between the group of 39 SDS parliament members [who refused to sign the Constitution] and the president. People connect you with Zhelyu Zhelev and with Podkrepa, to some extent, while relations between the cabinet and the Labor Confederation have greatly deteriorated.

[Ludzhev] There are some ridiculous rumors in this respect. Some people are spreading the rumor that the trade unions and the Army, under Ludzhev's leadership, are eager to seize power in our country. This is absurd. Only a very base plotter could invent such a thing. The opposite is true. It appears that certain people intend to use the Army for specific purposes. The laws that I proposed are aimed at preventing the Army from being exploited for political goals. I attack the banks, the mafia, and the military cliques. Coincidences are accumulating in this respect. Many people would like to see me resign.

[TRUD] They attack you with hints about financial transactions.

[Ludzhev] My only answer could be: "Let me see some evidence." The stories about my mortal sins are insinuations, which indicate dirty tricks, just like the rumors about my brother, who allegedly owns a joint venture company with Ozal. Where is this brother? Could you show him to me? The most difficult problem facing those who are trying to remove me from my post is the fact that I have always spoken the truth. Throughout the period following 10 November 1989 I have participated in all public activities. It is evident who has accomplished something in implementing the SDS program, who has been working hard, and who is only talking. I have a clear conscience, I have accomplished my historical task and I will go if I have to. Whoever thinks that there is no place for me in his cabinet, is entitled to think

so. The truth is that I do not endorse some of the methods according to which the SDS policy is being implemented, but I have always been loyal and have refrained from expressing my views outside the cabinet meetings. The reform should have been more radical, more outspoken, more accessible to the people. It should not have antagonized the trade unions and the population. They should have been involved in the common task. We could have introduced privatization and destroyed the mafia. It is quite clear that this plot once more stems from groups that have plenty of money and sufficient opportunity to exercise their power, from people who have deeply entrenched themselves and are trying to remove someone who threatens them.

[TRUD] You have always been kind to journalists, but on this occasion, you almost sound as if you were giving your final interview, as if you were taken your farewell.

[Ludzhev] No, I am not talking in this way. Naturally, in a democratic country the prime minister is entitled to reorganize his cabinet. The number of the people who initiated the reform and who accomplished the rough work over the last two years is steadily diminishing. Perhaps, the time has come for new democrats who are better than we are. Nothing coming from the corridors of power should surprise us anymore.

SDS's Markov Views Upcoming Cabinet Reshuffle

*AU0105180092 Sofia BTA in English 1713 GMT
1 May 92*

[Text] Sofia, May 1 (BTA)—Georgi Markov MP [member of parliament] of the ruling Union of Democratic Forces (SDS), member of the Parliamentary Legislative Committee, gave an interview for today's KONTINENT daily in connection with the forthcoming structural and personnel changes in the cabinet.

There will be at least two new deputy prime ministers, according to Georgi Markov. They should be in charge of the key areas, the economy and the law. Mr. Markov is sure that Foreign Minister Stoyan Ganev, Finance Minister Ivan Kostov, Minister of the Interior Yordan Sokolov and Minister of Justice Svetoslav Luchnikov will be the mainstays of the reforming cabinet. Mr. Markov believes that Prime Minister Filip Dimitrov has nothing against Defence Minister Dimitur Ludzhev's routine work but that he has lost confidence in him.

Georgi Markov categorically denies rumours that the SDS will form a coalition cabinet with the ethnic Turks' Movement for Rights and Freedoms (DPS). In his view, it is enough that the SDS and the DPS cooperate in parliament. On his return from Ankara, where he attended the celebrations of the 72nd anniversary of the Turkish Grand National Assembly, SDS floor leader Aleksandur Yordanov said that if the DPS, which is part of the parliamentary majority supporting the cabinet,

claims a portfolio, this matter will be discussed. At the same time, Mr. Yordanov was convinced that the DPS will make no such claim.

According to Georgi Markov, a cabinet crisis, a parliamentary crisis and early elections should be prevented "because they will help representatives of ghost parties be elected to parliament, while the status quo between the two major political forces will remain unchanged."

The newspaper writes that Industry and Trade Minister Ivan Pushkarov has submitted his resignation of his own free will. According to eye-witness accounts, the prime minister has not said definitively whether he accepts it or not.

Georgi Markov believes that Finance Minister Ivan Kostov should retain his post. However, KONTINENT writes that according to the SDS Coordinating Council, "should Georgi Markov keep on supporting Ivan Kostov, he may turn into a political nonentity."

The MP's of the SDS insist that the Committee on Power Generation should become a ministry in order to place it under direct parliamentary control, the newspaper writes. According to it, a separate ministry of trade and services will be set up.

Group To Investigate BCP's Foreign Companies

AU0105120692 Sofia TRUD in Bulgarian
22 Apr 92 p 1

[Nikolay Zhukov report]

[Text] Before Easter the government will adopt a decision to form a group (G47) that will attempt to unravel the maze of shady economic and financial deals made by the former Bulgarian Communist Party [BCP] elite prior to 10 November 1989. It seems that the group is in the final stage of formation, judging from the fact that the documentation on all the foreign associations set up by the former Ministry of Foreign Economic Relations is now in the hands of the Council of Ministers. No one in the government, parliament, or the special services connects the transfer of the archive from the one place to the other with the investigation, but it is presumed that a possibility existed that it might disappear without trace.

In this connection we contacted Rumen Bikov, chairman of the National Assembly subcommission, on the culprits responsible for the economic disaster. Mr. Bikov declined to comment, because, as he said, in this state it is not necessary for everything to be published in the newspapers.

Lieutenant Colonel Stoyan Andreev, the president's adviser on national security, was so kind as to be more forthcoming: "Whether the group will be called G47 or U5 is of no importance. Both the presidency and the government share the view that it should exist. It will start work and follow up traces leading to the Bulgarian national capital that has been illegally concealed abroad. The group will include specialists from the National

Intelligence Service and the National Security Service and representatives of the courts and prosecution service. Evidence and documents are available, but the court will have to decide where they constitute evidence for bringing charges. However, one can say now that it is not excluded that we may encounter attempts at deliberate disinformation. Many forces will have a hand in this game."

Teams from the U.S., French, and German secret services will join the investigations. The latter confirmed its willingness to cooperate during the meeting of intelligence experts in Sofia.

The documentation on the foreign associations held at the Council of Ministers is wreathed in complete secrecy. It is known that the history of the mixed companies founded abroad is stored away in hundreds of files. The associations formed following the issuance of Decree No. 56 on Economic Activity, which abolished the system of permits, are said to be of particular interest. However, the real pearls for the investigation are the companies for which the Ministry of Foreign Economic Relations held no files, which were formed by the BCP and kept under observation by the special services of the time.

Socialists Hold May Day Rallies in Sofia, Plovdiv

AU0105171792 Sofia Khorizont Radio Network
in Bulgarian 1630 GMT 1 May 92

[Text] In Sofia today the Bulgarian Socialist Party [BSP] celebrated Labor Day with a festive rally and procession. The motto of the rally held in front of the National Palace of Culture was: Work, bread, democracy. However, the word most often repeated at the rally was solidarity.

In a short speech, BSP Chairman Zhan Videnov said: Today we again raise our voice in defense of the natural reaction of working people to the horrifying poverty and the helplessness of those in power. By our actions, we will continue to strive in the future to guarantee people's social security and their right to work.

Following the rally, the crowd in the square set off in a festive procession to Borisova Garden, where they watched an entertaining program by performers on an open-air stage.

In Plovdiv hundreds of BSP members and supporters attended a May Day rally. Boris Stoyanov, leader of the Plovdiv Socialists, concentrated in his speech on the right of members of the labor cooperative farms in the region to oppose the liquidation councils.

According to our correspondents, in Blagoevgrad and other large regional centers May Day was marked by no demonstrations nor honorary presidiums composed of

local dignitaries. They were replaced by modest open-air stages that offered entertainment to the strolling citizens on this sunny spring day.

Government Plans Overhaul of Power Supply System

*AU0405104492 Sofia 24 CHASA in Bulgarian
27 Apr 92 p 7*

[Lambi Tokov report: "Seventy-Five Percent of Our Electric Power Supply System Capacities Will Be Renewed by 2000"]

[Text] Some 30 percent of the existing power supply system capacities must be renewed by the end of 1996, and 75 percent—by 2000, according to Anton Mirchev, head of the National Electricity Company Administrative Board.

The new power supply system is currently being discussed by our government's experts and the newly formed Power Supply Commission of the National Assembly. Privatization of installations, connecting our electric power grid with the European one, and concluding long-term agreements on importing gas and coal—these are some of the new elements, informed sources report.

This is the 13th time our power supply system has been restructured since 1956. And it is the eighth time its leading organ will be a ministry, according to the information.

The nuclear power supply system is a priority area for countries such as Bulgaria that do not have their own national resources, the new concept points out. Bulgaria imports 67 percent of its power supply resources, while our GNP requires 35 percent more power than normal states, experts point out.

According to calculations contained in the new concept, we will have lignite for 130 years, if we mine no more than 40 million tonnes per year. It would be economically sound to construct 600-megawatt hydroelectric capacities in the near future.

It is very necessary to start up two 216-megawatt generating units at the Chaira Pumped-Storage Hydroelectric Plant by the end of the year. It will cost 400 million leva. However, recent information from Chaira shows that the first generating unit could be on line by the end of the year at best.

New gas power plants are not recommended. However, a gas system for the population will be planned and constructed as soon as possible.

Silistra Residents Protest Planned Nuclear Reactor

*AU0405140292 Sofia 24 CHASA in Bulgarian
29 Apr 92 p 2*

[Dimitur Genchev report: "Romania Builds New Nuclear Power Plant, Silistra Protests"]

[Text] Romania is constructing a nuclear power plant 60 kilometers from Silistra, the Bulgarian radio reminded listeners on 28 April. Thus another threat joins the existing environmental aggression of the Calarasi metallurgy works. It scares Silistra residents and creates social tension in the region.

The Silistra municipal councillors have sent protest letters to the National Assembly Foreign Affairs and Environmental Protection Commissions. They demand that full information be disclosed about the Cerna Voda Nuclear Power Plant, which is under construction.

It was reported that the Romanians themselves will produce the nuclear fuel. According to the Canadian experts, that fuel does not correspond to world standards and is potentially dangerous.

The Cerna Voda Nuclear Power Plant will have six Canadian Candu 600-megawatt reactors. Initially, only two will be started up. Tinko Ganchev, head of the Accident Center at the Committee for Peaceful Uses of Atomic Energy, says. Such reactors have been in use in Canada since the 1950's, but they are periodically modernized and thus correspond to the international safety requirements, he pointed out.

The reactors are not dangerous from an environmental point of view, because they have modern protection systems and the reactors are covered with reinforced concrete, precisely as the fifth and sixth reactors of the Kozloduy Nuclear Power Plant, Mr. Ganchev thinks.

The Candu reactors work with natural uranium, which is not enriched but only purified. Mr. Ganchev pointed out that the Romanians have not yet stated anything officially about the fuel quality. Our information stems from the International Atomic Energy Commission. The Committee on Peaceful Uses of Atomic Energy has learned that the fuel does not correspond to world standards, but this information has not been confirmed yet.

Havel, Walesa, Antall To Meet in Prague 6 May
*AU0405130292 Prague MLADA FRONTA DNES
in Czech 30 Apr 92 p 1*

[CSTK report: "A Summit Involving the 'Troika' Will Be Held in Prague"]

[Text] Prague—CSFR President Vaclav Havel, Polish President Lech Walesa, and Hungarian Prime Minister Jozsef Antall will meet at Prague Castle on 6 May for another summit involving the so-called Troika. Coordinating the Central European countries' integration into the EC will be one of the subjects under discussion. A declaration loosely following up on the declaration adopted in Krakow last October will also be adopted at the summit.

Names of Journalists Listed as StB Agents Published
AU0505112792

[Editorial Report] Prague TELEGRAF in Czech on 30 April on page 3 publishes a list of 262 members of the Czech Syndicate of Journalists and 114 members of the Slovak Syndicate of Journalists who are registered as "agents" in the files of the now defunct State Security Corps (StB). Czech and Slovak newspapers on 1 May publish a number of reactions to the publication of the list of positively screened journalists.

The list in Prague TELEGRAF in Czech is said to be identical with that which Federal Security and Information Service (FIS) Director Stefan Bacinsky presented to "constitutional officials" (including Czech Prime Minister Petr Pithart and Slovak Prime Minister Jan Carnogursky) last week. The newspaper does not specify how it obtained the FIS document. The list contains the following information on the positively screened journalists: first name, surname, date of birth, and StB codename. It does not specify for which media the journalists in question work. While most of the names featured in the TELEGRAF list are unfamiliar to FBIS, some of them are identical to the names of prominent journalists working for major Czechoslovak newspapers and other media. These include:

Ales Benda, who was first CTK director after the November 1989 revolution and who now works as CSTK correspondent in the United States;

Zbynek Fiala, who was Federal Government spokesman after the November 1989 revolution and who is now domestic policy commentator of Prague CESKE A MORAVSKOSLEZSKE ZEMEDEL'SKE NOVINY in Czech;

Jindrich Hoda, deputy chief editor of Prague TELEGRAF in Czech;

Jan Kastanek, domestic policy commentator of Prague LIDOVA DEMOKRACIE in Czech;

Petr Krul, who was first chief editor of the Czechoslovak Television news and current affairs department after the November 1989 revolution;

Jan Comaj, who was Slovak Government spokesman under Prime Minister Meciar and who is now director of the NARODNA OBRODA publishing house;

Peter Fridner, foreign policy commentator of Bratislava NARODNA OBRODA in Slovak;

Eugen Gindl, who was first chief editor of Bratislava VEREJNOST in Slovak;

Leopold Moravcik, foreign policy commentator of Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak;

Milan Polak, deputy chief editor of Bratislava NARODNA OBRODA in Slovak;

Kamil Prochazka, who used to be spokesman of the Public Against Violence movement;

Viliam Roth, who was information minister in the short-lived Federal Government appointed by Ladislav Adamec in December 1989; and Jozef Ruttkay, who was Eugen Gindl's successor as chief editor of Bratislava VEREJNOST in Slovak.

Prague TELEGRAF in Czech on 1 May on page 1 carries a 100-word statement by TELEGRAF Chief Editor Jakub Cisar on the presence of TELEGRAF Deputy Chief Editor Jindrich Hoda's name on the list of positively screened journalists. Cisar states that "in view of the fact that all TELEGRAF employees agreed in writing that positive screening according to Federal Assembly law No. 451 of 1991 was a fundamental and immediate obstacle to their work in the editorial office, the aforementioned deputy chief editor will probably be given notice by the publisher."

Prague CESKE A MORAVSKOSLEZSKE ZEMEDEL'SKE NOVINY in Czech on 1 May on page 1 carries the following statement by the newspaper's editorial office: "Yesterday some dailies published an unofficial list of members of the Syndicate of Journalists of the Czech Republic who have supposedly been positively screened as secret StB collaborators, category AGENT. Three names of members of our editorial staff appear on that list. The management of the editorial office, together with the management OF the First Land Shareholding Company [the paper's publisher], decided to suspend the publishing of articles by these members of the editorial staff in CESKE A MORAVSKOSLEZSKE ZEMEDEL'SKE NOVINY until the CSFR Ministry of Interior issues an official attestation about the outcome of their screening."

Prague LIDOVA NOVINY in Czech on 1 May on pages 1 and 8 carries a 700-word "LN"-signed report on the publication of the names of Czech and Slovak journalists listed as StB agents. The report mentions that the list published by TELEGRAF "includes the name of one LIDOVA NOVINY employee (who is not a writing

journalist) and of two external LIDOVE NOVINY collaborators. The intention to provide distorting information, or to misinform, has never been apparent in their texts that we published in the past." The LIDOVE NOVINY report also observes that, with a few exceptions, the journalists featured in the TELEGRAF list "are no longer active as journalists or work for media that are not very significant."

The publication of names of StB agents among the journalistic community is also subject of a 400-word Jaroslav Veis commentary in Prague LIDOVE NOVINY in Czech on 1 May on page 1. Veis notes that "it is a remarkable discovery that many of the journalists on the list write articles excessively favoring or even toadying up to the present developments [in society]." Veis therefore expresses "astonishment" at the FIS director's claim that these journalists have been "destabilizing our contemporary society by means of purposeful misinformation."

Bratislava NARODNA OBRODA in Slovak on 1 May on page 3 publishes a 300-word commentary by chief editor Juraj Veres entitled "A Blow Below the Belt of the Law-Governed State." Without mentioning the presence of NARODNA OBRODA journalists on the TELEGRAF list, Veres condemns the exposure of StB agents among Czech and Slovak journalists as "a shocking act of public scandalization." He warns against the "human tragedies" and "destabilization of society" resulting from this publication and accuses the FIS of "having quickly assimilated" methods formerly used by the StB. On the same page, NARODNA OBRODA carries a 700-word commentary by Julius Gembecky, who is chairman of the Slovak Syndicate of Journalists, entitled "Pre-Election Informing Mania." Gembecky points out that while in "advanced countries" journalists supervise politicians, in Czechoslovakia it is the other way around. He criticizes the publication of the list as an act of "political voyeurism" and an expression of "political and human cynicism." Gembecky points out that some of the journalists on the list were themselves political prisoners of the communist regime and that they have no legal means of recourse against the publication of their names.

Editor Justifies Publication

AU0505112992 Prague CSTK in English
1022 GMT 30 Apr 92

[Text] Prague April 30 (CSTK)—The chief editor of the Czech daily TELEGRAF, which today published a list of Czech journalists whose names were found on the former Secret Police (StB) register, said the list obtained by the paper bore no mark labelling it strictly confidential.

Chief Editor Jakub Cisar told CSTK the purpose of publishing the names of journalists-StB agents was to inform the public about people who address it.

The list of 262 names of Czech journalists, members of the Czech Journalists' Syndicate, and of 114 Slovak

journalists, members of the Slovak Journalists' Syndicate, were prepared by the Federal Security and Information Service (FIS) and passed to the Czech and Slovak premiers last week.

The lists were made available to federal parliament deputies yesterday, bearing the "strictly confidential" mark.

The Czech and Slovak parliaments at their session today are expected to discuss how the lists of journalists, named as StB agents, will be handled.

Under the screening law, passed by the Czechoslovak parliament on October 4, 1991, publication of the names of persons found on the StB register is prohibited.

The names of Czech and Slovak journalists-StB agents were published today also by the Czech daily METROPOLITAN.

Security Service Denies Leaking Agents Names

LD0105131792 Prague Stanice Ceskoslovensko Radio
Network in Czech 1200 GMT 30 Apr 92

[Text] Stefan Bacinsky, director of the Federal Security and Information Service, has reacted to the list of journalists-StB agents published in today's press. He excluded the possibility that the news leaked from the Federal Security and Information Service and added that the publication of the list is purely a matter for parliament. Jiri Ruml, chairman of the former parliamentary commission for the investigation into the events of 17 November, said that something like this could have been expected.

According to Prime Minister Petr Pithart, the Czech Government has clean hands in the agents-journalists issue and is concentrating on a draft bill on the possibility of publishing the list of all proven agents. The prime minister also expressed concern that partial and homemade lists will continue to appear in Czechoslovakia more and more frequently.

Havel Terms Publication of Names 'Absurd'

AU0505123792 Prague CSTK in English
1641 GMT 3 May 92

[Text] Prague May 3 (CSTK)—Czechoslovak President Vaclav Havel today described as "embarrassing and absurd" the publication last Thursday [30 April] of lists of Czech and Slovak journalists named by the Federal Security and Information Service (FIS) as having been agents of the former Secret Police (StB).

In his regular Sunday radio address, Havel said the affair "catches little fish but does not catch the big ones." He said the lists are incomplete as they only include journalists who are members of the Czech and Slovak Journalists' Syndicates. The lists do not indicate how damaging to society activities of the journalists were,

how long they had been StB agents, nor what their present activities are, he added.

Havel questioned the wisdom of publishing a complete list of supposed StB agents, saying such a list could contain errors and damage many lives.

Havel also labelled as a lack of confidence in state administration a statement attributed to Czech Prime Minister Petr Pithart that "there is no getting away from the complete publication of the names of StB agents as sooner or later someone will publish them anyway."

Havel called for Czechoslovak citizens to investigate carefully the election programs of the political parties before voting in the June 4-5 elections. "Democracy is a rather demanding thing compared with totalitarianism, where someone else did the thinking for us," he said.

Commenting on last week's rioting in Los Angeles, Havel said that even in the country with the longest democratic tradition, social and ethnic problems are smoldering. He said the events in the United States should be a "warning signal" to Czechoslovakia that it cannot adopt a new economic system while ignoring moral values.

Politicians Comment on Exposure of StB Agents

AU0505113192 Prague CSTK in English
1740 GMT 30 Apr 92

[Text] Prague April 30 (CSTK)—Czechoslovak President Vaclav Havel has not yet studied a report from the Federal Security and Information Service (FIS) which includes a list of Czech and Slovak journalists, former agents of the now-defunct secret police (StB), CSTK was told by Havel's press spokesman Michael Zantovsky.

Havel returned from a visit to Japan and South Korea (April 22-28) on Wednesday. The report was taken over in Havel's absence by a worker of the Presidential Office April 22.

Czechoslovak Premier Marian Calfa told CSTK it is up to a court to decide whether the publication of the list of 262 Czech and 114 Slovak journalists, alleged agents of the former StB, by the Czech dailies TELEGRAF and METROPOLITAN today was unlawful.

The lists were passed to the Czech and Slovak prime ministers by the FIS last week and on Wednesday [29 April], they were made available to federal parliament deputies, bearing the "strictly confidential" mark.

Alexander Dubcek, the chairman of the Czechoslovak parliament, told CSTK that if a deputy passed the confidential information to papers, he or she breached law.

"Some deputies have proposed that the Office of the Prosecutor General start legal proceedings against the (thus far) unknown violator of law," Dubcek added.

Czechoslovak Interior Minister Jan Langos said the lists do not fall within the category of top secrets. They can be marked "professional secret" at most, Langos said.

Czech Prime Minister Petr Pithart told CSTK he is afraid that partial and "homemade" lists of alleged collaborators with the former secret police (StB) will now spread "like wildfire" in Czechoslovakia.

Pithart said the Czech Government has clean hands in the matter. It is now busy preparing a draft law providing for the publication of the names of indisputable StB agents.

The law, if passed by the Federal Assembly, would rule out or at least make difficult the publication of partial and homemade lists, Pithart said.

The chairwoman of the Czech National Council (parliament), Dagmar Buresova said she was quite surprised by the publication of the lists.

"We wanted to bring the whole matter in harmony with the screening law." The law was passed by the federal parliament in October 1991. Under it the former StB agents, Czechoslovak Communist Party officials, and members of the People's Militia (the party's paramilitary force) will be barred from public posts in the next five years.

In Bratislava today, the chairman of the Slovak National Council (parliament), Frantisek Miklosko, said any Slovak legislator can get the list of Slovak journalists, alleged StB agents, if he asks for it.

Stefan Bacinsky, the FIS director, today ruled out the possibility of leakage of information from the FIS. He told CSTK that the publication of the lists is a matter of the parliament, and he has nothing to add.

The Czechoslovak defense minister, Lubos Dobrovsky, said the lists are mere intelligence information by the FIS and its value is "very low."

Dubcek Claims Publication of Names Violates Law

AU0505123692 Prague CSTK in English
1748 GMT 3 May 92

[Text] Bratislava May 3 (CSTK)—Czechoslovak parliament Chairman Alexander Dubcek today told CSTK he believes laws were violated by last Thursday's [30 April] publication of lists of members of the Czech and Slovak Journalists' Syndicates found to have been StB agents.

Dubcek said he had asked Stefan Bacinsky, director of the Federal Security and Information Service (FIS) which worked out the lists, to explain and specify some points in the FIS reports. He said Bacinsky did not do so, though he was present at a session of the Czechoslovak parliament last week.

According to Dubcek, anyone who knew about the FIS confidential reports, including FIS people, could have

prepared their publication. The final 22nd joint session of parliament demanded that the General Prosecutor's Office start criminal proceedings on the affair. He said the General Prosecutor's Office must launch the proceedings.

Dubcek described the renaissance of parliamentarianism as a major achievement in the past two-year activity of parliament. Although some laws adopted aroused embarrassment or even discontent among the public, in general the legislative activity of parliament lead to a substantial reconstruction of the country's legal system, Dubcek stressed.

Journalists Syndicate Protests List Handover

*AU0405081092 Bratislava NARODNA OBRODA
in Slovak 27 Apr 92 p 2*

[TK SR report: "The Double-Edged Nature of the Screening Mania"]

[Text] Bratislava—The Board of the Slovak Syndicate of Journalists [SNN] Council heard with profound alarm and indignation the report that the Federal Security and Information Service [FIS] director has handed the Slovak prime minister a list of journalists described as State Security [StB] agents and that this list was compiled outside the framework of Law No. 451/91.

This information is contained in a statement given to TK SR yesterday. In its statement the Board expresses the view that this step was not taken to protect constitutionality and democracy in the CSFR, but that an attempt at manipulation serving the purposes of certain political forces is behind it. "Since, according to the reports published, this list only concerns SNN members—and not all journalists are members of this non-political, professional, and specialist organization—we must assume that the issue involves casting doubts on the organization or, as the case may be, an attack against it. We declare that no one from the SNN leadership or apparatus legally made available a list of this journalistic organization's members." The Board of the SNN Council bitterly—and as a matter of principle—protests against the illegal acquisition of material about the SNN membership base, because it sees in it a precedent for possible attacks against other professional or civic associations and organizations.

At the same time, it reminds publishers and chief editors of the mass media in Slovakia that they have the opportunity to use Law No. 451/91 to screen their editors. "This will successfully and legally uncover real StB agents and will obviate political abuse of the various lists that have surfaced in the CSFR."

Alongside its protest against FIS activity, the Board of the SNN Council will initiate proceedings at the CSFR

Prosecutor General's Office and the CSFR Constitutional Court for an investigation into whether the preparation of the lists and their handover to the Czech and Slovak prime ministers violated the law and constitutionality.

Agents List Focus of Attention in Both Capitals

*AU0305163592 Bratislava NARODNA OBRODA
in Slovak 28 Apr 92 pp 1,2*

[CSTK and "(NO-am)"-signed report: "The List of Agents—A Service to Readers"]

[Text] Bratislava/Prague—The lists of journalists were the main topic of discussion yesterday in the capital cities of both republics.

In Bratislava Prime Minister Carnogursky kept his promise. He had told journalists that the Slovak Government Office Legislative Department should first express an opinion on the possibility of making the list available to the Slovak Syndicate of Journalists [SNN] Board. "The Legislative Department has expressed its doubt about the legality of handing over the list to the SNN Board. On the basis of this, we decided that government members should have an opportunity to see the list in my secretariat. As far as overall numbers are concerned, 307 SNN members received positive findings. Of this number, 124 were in the category of agent, 138 were in the category of confidant, six were tenants of State Security apartments, and 39 were in the category of candidate for secret collaboration. The government has adopted the point of view that the publishers of individual publications have, in accordance with the Screening Law, the right to request the Federal Interior Ministry to screen their employees, and the government recommends that they do this. The Slovak Government will return to this issue next week, because we were unable to hastily formulate any draft solutions after the legal standpoint was made known." Carnogursky added that the aforementioned list is classified as an official secret. "We took into consideration the fact that if members of the SNN Board were informed of the obligations of a holder of an official secret, they could receive the list. However, the question is what use would it be to them if they had to continue keeping it an official secret?"

The list of journalists registered as State Security agents should, according to Interior Ministry Spokesman Martin Fendrych, be of service to readers rather than to prime ministers, ministers, or the presidiums of legislative bodies. "If a journalist distorts information from an interview with a minister, the minister can submit a complaint against him. This is to say nothing of the fact that he can request authorization of the text in advance. However, the reader does not know that articles by certain reporters could be deliberately distorted. The fact that a person was a State Security agent could be of significance to readers."

According to information from the Federal Interior Ministry, the following publications have requested screenings for their staff: The editorial office of MORAVSKY VETERAN [Moravian Veteran], MORAVSKOSLEZSKY DEN [Moravian-Silesian Day] of Ostrava (two), NOVA PRAVDA [New Truth] of Plzen, the Tatran Publishing House, MLADE LETA [Young Years] of Bratislava, METROPOLITAN, and MLADY SVET [Young World]. It also became apparent from an interview with Z. Matula [director of an Interior Ministry department] that the following have also requested screenings: The Czechoslovak Press Agency (two), Czechoslovak Television, Czech Television, Slovak Television, Czechoslovak Radio, Czech Radio, and Slovak Radio (two). They are obliged by law to screen their staff.

The chief editor of MLADA FRONTA DNES aired his views on this Interior Ministry report. He said they had requested screenings in 1991. RUDE PRAVO Chief Editor Zdenek Porybny said that his daily will not screen its editors. However, if this is required by law, the RUDE PRAVO editorial office will comply with it.

Bill on Publishing StB Agents List Approved

LD0505105892 Prague CSTK in English
0947 GMT 5 May 92

[Text] Prague May 5 (CSTK)—The Czech Government late last night approved a draft law on publishing a list of citizens registered in the files of the former StB [Bureau of State Security] secret police.

The bill specifies the conditions and way of publishing the names of former StB collaborators registered in StB files from February 25, 1948 to November 17, 1989, in the category of agent, resident, holder of a flat for conspiracy, informer or ideological collaborator, and the names of StB officers directing their activity.

Under the draft, the list would be prepared by the Federal Interior Ministry. Czech Prime Minister Petr Pithart told journalists that the draft does not set the date by which the list should be completed.

"Should the Federal Interior Ministry work in its current conditions, it would be work for several years", Pithart said. He also quoted Federal Interior Minister Jan Langos as saying the list might be ready in a year if 80 people in the ministry were to concentrate on it. At present, the ministry has three people available for this work, Langos said.

Pithart said the draft provides for the publication of the names of a wider range of people than originally envisaged by the government, also containing the names of some Interior Ministry employees, in other words "big fish".

The publication of a similar list by anyone but the Federal Interior Ministry will be punishable, according to the bill. The Czech Government proposes that the publication of

unauthorised lists be punished by a jail sentence of six months to three years, or by a financial penalty.

The draft will now be passed to the Czech National Council (parliament).

Today's "LIDOVE NOVINY" writes that Pithart said this is the last opportunity for the Czech parliament, whose last session in its current term ends Thursday [7 May], to pass the draft to the presidium of the federal parliament.

Carnogursky on Screening, Presidium Composition

LD0105130192 Bratislava Rozhlasova Stanica
Slovensko Network in Slovak 1000 GMT 30 Apr 92

[Text] Slovak Prime Minister Jan Carnogursky, chairman of the Christian Democratic Movement, commented at a Christian Democratic Movement press conference today about the Slovak Defense Council session. Its members looked over the Jelsava barracks used in the past by Soviet troops. They said that all buildings need to be reconstructed before our army can use them.

However, while the prime minister was describing the transfer of the troops, quite a number of journalists were studying the list of secret police agents in today's issue of the journal TELEGRAF.

Afterwards, reporter Lydia Mrazova interviewed Jan Carnogursky and this topic was also raised.

[Begin recording] [Mrazova] You have had personal experience of the secret police in the past. What is your view of the people, and to be topical, of the journalists who are on this sort of list?

[Carnogursky] I repeat what I have already said on a number of occasions. The screening law, as prepared by the Federal Government and discussed by the Slovak Government—in the drafting of which I personally took part—insists that every accused person be enabled to defend himself individually. In the Federal Assembly, deputies later removed this provision from the law and I see this as a shortcoming in the existing law on screening. I do not recognize the principle of collective guilt but I do recognize the principle of individual guilt and this latest list of journalists does not excite me in any particular way. The list as such is not a sufficient guide for me to consider every man whose name is on the list as someone who deserves to be condemned. But I do not doubt that there are some people on the list who do deserve to be condemned.

[Mrazova] Do you then think that this list is trustworthy or is it possible that some names which do not belong there got there either by accident or by design?

[Carnogursky] The list is trustworthy in the sense that everybody who is on the list was registered by the secret police as its agent.

[Mrazova] Do you think it is right to earmark one group of people—in this case journalists—and to publish only this list?

[Carnogursky] Look, journalists say that the general public has the right to be informed. They use this very firmly against us, the government, if we are not willing to provide them with certain information. I think that this principle also applies in the other direction and that the general public has the right to be informed about, let us say, cooperation between journalists and the former secret police. Therefore, I think journalists should not protest so much against this list.

[Mrazova] This list was to be a topic today of a closed session of the plenum of the Slovak parliament, that is a session not open to the public. How do you see the fact that this leak of information has taken place?

[Carnogursky] I definitely was not the person who caused this leak. The list which I obtained is still in my safe and only members of the government were able to see it while measures were taken to prevent any leak of information.

[Mrazova] The Slovak parliament Presidium was reconstructed this week. At a press conference of the Slovak National Democratic Movement yesterday journalists heard from the representatives of this movement that they see the penetration of two deputies of the Party of Democratic Left into the presidium as a sort of a virus which has entered the presidium. Do you see the reconstruction of the presidium in the same way?

[Carnogursky] I know that the talks about the reconstruction of the presidium were very complicated and difficult and the resulting reconstruction was a compromise between various viewpoints. I see the expansion in the Slovak National Council Presidium with members of the Party of the Democratic Left as a symptom of the composition of the current opposition. The current opposition contains the Party of the Democratic Left and therefore it is little wonder that the representatives of the Party of the Democratic Left, supported by the opposition, got into the presidium.

[Mrazova] Although this has been written about a number of times, in your personal opinion is this expansion of the presidium a violation of coalition agreements?

[Carnogursky] I see it as a violation of agreements which we concluded with the Slovak Christian Democratic Movement because the Slovak Christian Democratic Movement pledged that there will be no change in the Slovak parliament Presidium prior to the discussion of the point on the declaration of sovereignty of Slovakia. On the other hand, other members of the coalition pledged that there would be no legal measures in the Slovak parliament Presidium. By voting for the changes

in the Slovak parliament Presidium, by voting for its expansion, deputies of the Slovak Christian Democratic Movement violated this agreement. [end recording]

Prosecutor General Outlines Case Against Meciar

AU0305143092 Prague LIDOVE NOVINY in Czech
23 Apr 92 pp 1,3

[Interview with CSFR Prosecutor General Martin Lauko by Milan Vybulka; place and date not given: "State Security in the 1950's and Today"]

[Excerpt] [Passage omitted] [Vybulka] How are the criminal proceedings in the case involving the destruction of State Security [StB] archive materials in Slovakia progressing?

[Lauko] Four individuals were questioned by investigators from the Federal Police Corps Investigation Administration from 17 December 1991 to 20 February 1992 and, based on an assessment of their testimony, an investigator from this body initiated criminal proceedings in accordance with a decision made on 21 February 1992. These criminal proceedings were initiated for the misappropriation of at least eight archive documents containing the names of StB collaborators, the removal of six pages from archive books belonging to the former 12th National Security Corps [SNB] Administration in Bratislava, and the removal of several pages from this administration's registration protocol. These acts were carried out by a still unidentified person or group of people employed by the Federal Interior Ministry in the first half of 1990. There is justifiable suspicion that the criminal act of abuse of authority by a public official was committed here. Following another decision made by the same body on 4 March 1992, criminal proceedings were initiated for the misappropriation and destruction of a still unknown number and type of documents from the former StB district department in Trencin. The investigation into the Trencin case has led to the conclusion that Vladimir Meciar, the former Slovak interior minister and later prime minister, allegedly gave instructions for the misappropriation of these materials. In view of the fact that a civilian is involved, the appropriate organs active in the Slovak criminal system are investigating the case. The investigation was conducted in segments and the part concerning Mr. Meciar is being investigated by the appropriate investigator from the Slovak Police Corps Investigation Office. The appropriate department from the Slovak Civil Prosecutor's Office is supervising the case. The loss of documents from the former 12th SNB Administration in Bratislava is continuing to be investigated by an investigator from the Federal Police Corps, and the case is being supervised by the Military District Prosecutor's Office in Bratislava. Intensive work is involved in both cases. So far, however, the investigator has not assessed the evidence in such a way that a request can be submitted to strip Vladimir Meciar of his deputy's immunity, which is the first prerequisite for bringing possible charges against

him. This matter is now fully within the jurisdiction of the aforementioned Slovak Republic investigators and prosecutors.

Loss of Majority in Slovak Parliament Discussed

AU0305164392 Prague LIDOVE NOVINY
in Czech 29 Apr 92 p 3

[Ivan Hoffmann commentary: "Expansion of Absurdity"]

[Text] The first item on the agenda of the 24th meeting of the Slovak National Council was the expansion of the Presidium from 21 to 26 members. This success of the opposition, particularly of the Party of the Democratic Left [SDL], means that the coalition lost its narrow majority in the Presidium. Commenting on this situation, Slovak National Council Chairman Frantisek Miklosko said that a constructive solution has been found and that there would now be a stalemate between the coalition and the opposition in the Slovak National Council Presidium (which will perform the functions of the highest Slovak legislative body after the conclusion of the 24th Slovak National Council meeting, until a new parliament is elected). Frantisek Miklosko was pleased that a system offering "mutual control" has been found.

One cannot fail to draw attention to the fact, however, that the expansion of the Presidium has only reinforced the absurd situation whereby the opposition, which does not bear responsibility for the execution of power, participates in power. The agreement on the expansion of the Slovak National Council Presidium with opposition deputies can also be seen as a proof that, in the final phase of the two-year electoral period, the coalition parties were unable to save face. Moreover, because the coalition parties gave in to the opposition, the existence of quiet coalitions within the opposition in the Slovak National Council and the opposition's ability to agree on candidates for the enlarged Presidiums could not be put to a test.

One thing did become apparent, however. Thanks to Slovak Christian Democratic Movement [SKDH] deputies, who joined the opposition, two SDL and one Movement for a Democratic Slovakia [HZDS] deputy managed to get into the Slovak National Council Presidium. Had our politics been normal, this would have compromised the SKDH, which professes a Christian orientation, before its voters. It seems, however, that the public does not perceive developments in the Slovak National Council as a guidance for its orientation among political parties. Even the interest of the traditional demonstrators before the Slovak parliament building was so pitifully small before the last Slovak National Council meeting that the police did not even have to take out the obligatory metal barriers.

If the motive for the coalition parties' surrender-without-battle to the opposition on the question of the expansion of the Presidium was the idea that this concession would win support for the coalition parties (from the SDL, for example) in the endeavor to head off the

adoption of the declaration of [Slovak] sovereignty, which would probably lead to the breakup of the common state with all its incalculable consequences, then this speculation symbolizes the entire post-November [1989] policy of the parties that seek the establishment of democratic conditions in Slovakia. It is a symbol of their naivete that one can do business with representatives of the old regime (old thinking), that one can trust them, that one can cooperate with them.

The opposition, which pragmatically and purposefully slows down the process of democratic changes, will do what is advantageous for it, without regard for any agreements. Even if the declaration of sovereignty is not adopted, it will not be because the coalition managed to strike a good deal. The coalition did not strike a good deal, and it did not strike a bad deal; it struck no deal at all. It only gave up, without putting up resistance, another weapon by means of which it was able to assert the political course of reforms, for which it had received a mandate from voters.

Over 30,000 Attend May Day Celebrations

AU0505115292 Prague CSTK in English
1834 GMT 1 May 92

[Text] Prague May 1 (CSTK)—Between 30,000 to 35,000 people today participated in May Day celebrations organized by the Left Bloc under the motto "a better future for our country."

The Left Bloc is an election coalition of the Communist Party of Bohemia and Moravia (KSCM) and the Czechoslovak Democratic Left (DL).

KSCM Chairman Jiri Svoboda said that after the June 5-6 parliamentary elections the Left Bloc will demand the abolition of laws which run counter to Czechoslovakia's legal system. In his opinion, it is "necessary to replace the government which has betrayed its ideals and promises."

About 700 anarchists participated in a demonstration in Prague today in protest against the upcoming parliamentary elections.

Speakers rejected attempts mainly by the KSCM and the whole Left Bloc to use anarchists and rebellious youngsters in general for their objectives.

Elsewhere in the city, about 200 anarchists clashed with 150 skinheads protesting against "anarchists, drug addicts, robbers, and illegal money dealers."

Police detained several demonstrators on both sides, mainly for illegal possession of arms. One of the demonstrators was reported to have a gun.

IOJ President Speaks Out Against Expulsion Order

*AU0405131192 Prague CSTK in English
1035 GMT 30 Apr 92*

[Text] Prague April 30 (CSTK)— President of the International Organization of Journalists (IOJ) Armando Sobral Rollemberg has written that if the IOJ is expelled from Czechoslovakia it would be a blow against journalism.

In a letter addressed to all Czech and Slovak journalists and obtained today by CSTK Rollemberg wrote: "(Expulsion) Would be an injustice against a large number of people in the world of journalism, who have nothing in common with either communism or totalitarianism."

Based in Prague since 1947, the IOJ is accused of fraudulent financial transactions and close cooperation with the former Czechoslovak communist regime. The

Czechoslovak Interior Ministry ordered its expulsion from the country last August.

In the letter Rollemberg writes he recognizes that the IOJ made serious errors in the countries of Eastern Europe, labelling them as having resulted from the reliance of the former IOJ Secretariat on the policies of the communist regime.

"For example, I consider as very shameful the position of the IOJ, which in 1968 did not defend a large number of (Czechoslovak) journalists persecuted because they did not agree with the occupation of their country by Warsaw Pact troops," Rollemberg wrote.

He added that as IOJ president one of his primary tasks is "to regain the lost faith in the IOJ in this part of the world."

Olszewski Talks With Solidarity Activists

LD0405165792 Warsaw PAP in English 1553 GMT
4 May 92

[Text] Warsaw, May 4—Prime Minister Jan Olszewski talked for four hours Monday on industrial policy and privatization with a delegation of the National Committee of factory locals of the Solidarity Trade Union composed of representatives of five very large enterprises.

The discussion centred on the demands put forward during the April 24 street demonstration in Warsaw of Solidarity unionists who then briefly talked to the prime minister and received an invitation for today's talks.

Today the prime minister voiced readiness to present concrete proposals on phasing out the so-called wage-growth tax, the target of sharpest criticism from the unions for a long time now, by the end of May.

Both sides agreed to hold another meeting on the same topic next June 8.

The unionists came from the Sendzimir Steelworks in Krakow, the Warszawa Steelworks in Warsaw, the Gdansk Shipyard, the Wujek Coalmine, and the H. Cegielski Engineering Works in Poznan.

"We told the prime minister that the situation in Poland was tragic," Solidarity local chief from the Warszawa Steelmill said after the meeting. "Enterprises sink one after another." He added that the National Committee (known by the Polish name of Siec) wanted to join the talks with the government because talks held for many months now by the National Commission of Solidarity brought no effects.

He was quick to stress that today's meeting in no way represented a parallel or competing plane of negotiations. Asked why the delegation included no representatives of the Solidarity National Commission, led by Marian Krzaklewski, the Warszawa Steelmill Solidarity chief explained that Krzaklewski "could not be reached" in recent days.

Generals in Trouble for Destroying Party Files

AU0505112892 Warsaw GAZETA WYBORCZA
in Polish 30 Apr-1 May 92 p 1

[Jerzy Jachowicz report: "Jaruzelski and Kiszczak before the State Tribunal?"]

[Text] The prosecutor's office wants Generals Jaruzelski and Kiszczak to face the State Tribunal for destroying in December 1989 the minutes of PZPR [Polish United Workers Party] Politburo sessions from 1982 and 1989. The prosecutor's office claims that by doing so, Jaruzelski, who was president at the time, and Kiszczak, interior minister, committed an offense that is punishable by up to three years imprisonment.

General Jaruzelski told GAZETA that he indeed agreed to the destruction of the documents, but added that the prosecutor's office has not given him an opportunity to explain himself.

"On Wednesday [29 April] I conveyed to the Constitutional Tribunal a petition to summon before the State Tribunal General Wojciech Jaruzelski for ordering the destruction of the transcripts of PZPR Politburo sessions, and General Czeslaw Kiszczak for assisting in their destruction," Justice Minister Zbigniew Dyka told GAZETA Wednesday.

The minister could not convey his petition directly to the State Tribunal because the 1982 State Tribunal Act does not permit this. Therefore he did so via the Constitutional Tribunal, which will pass the petition to the Sejm Presidium. The Sejm itself will vote on what happens next.

Justice Ministry Spokesman Andrzej Cubala told GAZETA: "The prosecutor's office's charge against General Jaruzelski is that, as president of the Polish People's Republic, he issued an order to General Czeslaw Kiszczak in December 1989 to withdraw from the archives of the Polish Army General Staff 287 files containing the transcripts of PZPR Politburo sessions and subsequently to destroy them, which was duly carried out on 20 December 1989 at the Warsaw Paper Plant in Konstancin-Jeziorno."

According to the prosecutor's office, General Jaruzelski committed an offense under Article 268 of the criminal code, which carries a punishment of up to three months in prison. "Whoever destroys, damages, or removes documents over which he has no exclusive rights is punishable by a prison term ranging from three months to three years," says the relevant article.

General Kiszczak carried out the president's instructions, says the prosecutor's office. He passed on Jaruzelski's instructions to his subordinates, for which the punishment is the same.

The prosecutor's office also claims the generals broke the 1983 law on national archival material. They destroyed documents that should have been "preserved in perpetuity" on account of their value in researching Polish history.

In an interview with GAZETA, General Jaruzelski did admit he had okayed the destruction of the party documents, but added that he did not commence their destruction.

He claims the prosecutor's office "did not give him an opportunity" to explain. "If the prosecutor had wanted to talk to me, this business might have been avoided," he said.

Sejm Committee Debates Focus on Economic Matters
LD3004211892 Warsaw PAP in English 2321 GMT
29 Apr 92

[Text] April 29 [dateline as received]—The Sejm (lower house) Committee for Economic Policy, Budget and Finance decided on Wednesday [29 April] to ask the minister of finance and president of the National Bank of Poland (NBP) to explain on Thursday [30 April] the discrepancy between the NBP provisions concerning the supply of money in 1992 and those envisaged in the government draft of the 1992 budget.

The NBP provides for a 6-per cent increase in the supply of money over the 1991 figure, while the draft budget envisages an 8 per cent growth.

The export quotas of Polish farm produce and foodstuffs sold to European Communities (EC) markets on preferential terms will be growing by 10 per cent annually over the period of five years, the Senate Committee for Agriculture learned from Janusz Rowinski who participated in negotiations on Poland's association with the EC in Brussels lately.

At the same time the EC will reduce by 60 per cent (at an annual rate of 20 per cent) the customs duties and compensating payments for foodstuffs coming from Poland. On her part, Poland will once reduce by 10 per cent the customs duties on farm produce and foodstuffs imported to Poland.

In 2-3 years, the agreement on terms of trade in farm produce and foodstuffs will be negotiated with the EC for another five-year period, Rowinski said. However, he ruled out the prospects for the creation a free trade zone for these goods with the EC in ten years. The agreement provides for the creation of such a zone only for industrial goods.

The Senate committee also learned from the Ministry of Agriculture that the basic aim of the fund for restructuring agriculture and reducing farmers' debts is to change the structure of Polish agriculture and modernize it.

Deputies from the Sejm Committee for Privatization announced that they will prepare their own draft law on privatization.

The Senate Committee for Emigration and Poles Living Abroad urged the Polish Foreign Ministry to be more determined in enforcing the rights of the Polish minority in Ukraine. Also, the senators proposed to assist Ukrainian Poles in setting up Polish enterprises and companies in Ukraine.

Interior Minister Antoni Macierewicz told a Sejm committee that his ministry has been working on reconstruction of the files of former agents of security service (SB) in order to complete verification in such important institutions as judiciary and the like.

The Committee for Sejm Regulations ruled that the electoral protest of Wladyslaw Sila-Nowicki was well-grounded. Sila-Nowicki blamed the State Electoral Commission for failing to grant his Christian Democracy (CHD) party two seats in the parliament. The final verdict on the controversy will be given by the plenary meeting of the Sejm.

Sejm Discusses Religious Teaching in Schools

AU0305142292 Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY
in Polish 27 Apr 92 p 1

[Piotr Zaremba report: "The State Separate From the Church, But Not From Religion"]

[Text] "The directive on the teaching of religion in schools does not make it compulsory to learn religion," Education Minister Andrzej Stelmachowski told the Sejm on Saturday [26 April]. Nevertheless, the minister is convinced it is essential to bring children up in a Christian spirit, with reference to ethic principles.

Let us recall that the directive makes it compulsory to enter a grade for religion or ethics on each child's school report. One may choose not to take either subject, but if one does take one of them, attendance becomes compulsory. Nevertheless, the grade on the school report does not affect a pupil's progress to the next higher class.

"If this discussion is the start of a debate on the church's attitude toward the state, then I am in favor of the state's separation from the church, but not from religion," said the minister. He described the debate on religion in schools as artificial. "The political elites and press are mainly interested in this debate, but not schools and pupils," he said.

The minister's speech was applauded by deputies from the Christian-National Union, Center Accord, peasant parties, Solidarity, and the right-wing faction of the Democratic Union. Danuta Waniek from the Alliance of the Democratic Left described the directive as a step toward a "religious state." She described the exclusion of teachers of religion from the control of school boards as the "creation of a church education authority" in competition with the state. She also drew attention to the costs of teaching religion and introducing the new subject of ethics.

In the opinion of Barbara Labuda of the Democratic Union, recording one's attendance or non-attendance of religious instruction is a violation of the constitutional right to keep silent about one's religious convictions.

"You no longer have the power of an atheist state behind you, but you still want to fight the church and religion," said Stefan Niesiolowski (Christian-National Union) to the deputies of the Alliance of the Democratic Left. "We can thank the church for the survival of the partitions and of communism."

Jacek Maziarski from the Center Accord said that the campaign against religion in schools is aimed at turning society into a "multitude of readers of NIE, infected with consumerism and ashamed of values."

"It is not true that teaching religion in schools is un-European," said Kazimierz M. Ujazdowski from the right-wing faction of the Democratic Union. "There are only two countries where religion is not taught in schools, France and Greece." Ujazdowski said that as an internally pluralistic party, the Democratic Union is divided on this issue.

Janusz Korwin-Mikke from the Union of Real Politics praised the Catholic Polish state, which earned him applause from the Christian-National Union benches, but added that the introduction of religion to schools is an excellent way of putting society off religion for good.

In Korwin-Mikke's opinion, "the socialists from the Mazowiecki Government, headed by Minister Samsonowicz," introduced catechism to schools in order to weaken the influence of religion. "This was a plot," he said. "Now, staunch Catholics are carrying on the work"

Warsaw Solidarity Chief Explains Goals

AU0305183992 Warsaw GLOB 24 in Polish
24-26 Apr 92 p 2

[Interview with Maciej Jankowski, chief of the Solidarity "Mazowsze" chapter, by Dorota Bernhardt; place and date not given: "Sick Set-Ups"]

[Text] [Bernhardt] Who or what is the Solidarity nationwide demonstration on 24 April aimed against?

[Jankowski] It is chiefly meant to express the support of factory commissions for Solidarity's stance in negotiations on economic and social matters. For one year we have been suggesting concrete solutions to problems such as credits to finance turnover in enterprises. We propose emergency help for enterprises in debt. The "Mazowsze" chapter is upset because the problem of enterprise debts, raised by us last year, has been ignored. At that time, these debts totaled 40 trillion zlotys, but today they total 200 trillion. We are also indicating the problem of settling questions of ownership and the payment of taxes. We propose a system in which employees take active part in improving productivity, because wages should depend on results. We demand pay guarantees for employees in state and private enterprises and the creation of a fund that would pay out wages if the enterprise goes bankrupt. As far as social postulates are concerned, our chief bone of contention with the government is the amount of money available to implement them. First, production should be boosted, and only then can one pursue a specific social policy, that is what we believe. We are acquainted with the first positive results of the changes in Poland, but they are superficial, whereas the pathological phenomena are increasing all the time.

[Bernhardt] Even so, the Solidarity National Committee Presidium has decided to cancel the strike alert on 25 April.

[Jankowski] Yes, but that does not mean we will not undertake more militant action a few days later. I hope that will not be necessary and that the power elites realize we mean business. There is no time for arguments and personal disputes. Consolidation must occur, or else a disaster might happen.

[Bernhardt] Solidarity people frequently dissociate themselves from the authorities, and yet the authorities have their origins in Solidarity.

[Jankowski] They are not Solidarity authorities any more. Enough of that talk. When it is necessary to assume responsibility and offer explanations to society, the authorities are very quick to point out that they stem from Solidarity, but when the time comes to make decisions, they ignore Solidarity inside the government and inside parliament.

[Bernhardt] Nevertheless, one can reel off an entire list of people who used to be trade union activists but are among the authorities today.

[Jankowski] If someone began his career as a junior player in the Legia Football Club but now plays for Gornik Zabrze, he belongs to Gornik Zabrze, and not Legia. He scores goals against Legia and prevents it from winning, even though Legia might still respect him.

[Bernhardt] In that case, what do you think of Lech Walesa and his entourage?

[Jankowski] The president is responsible for the people employed in the Belvedere. What interests me is how the Belvedere camp reacts to the interests of workers. I think the Belvedere is just as sick as the government and parliament. I mean, it has no clearly defined powers and responsibilities. A huge mistake was made at the top by filling posts with people belonging to specific parties. In that way professionals were forced to quit, although they are the ones who should prepare, for example, rules on taxation, and not politicians. So the experts have found themselves in the sidelines and are acting alone. The authorities do not know how to avail themselves of their services.

[Bernhardt] There are a few significant political forces right now. I have in mind the entire set-up of parties concentrated in parliament. Those that oppose the government, in other words the trade unions and territorial self-managements, are a real political force, though little used. What do you think?

[Jankowski] I must correct you. One cannot say that we are opposed to the government, because right now we are not. We want a government. However, it is clear that the Olszewski government is dividing into two streams, one in favor of continuing the Balcerowicz plan, which I am firmly against, and the other in favor of more militant action to fight the recession, which I support. As far as

the self-managements are concerned, we have always supported them, though there are a lot of errors in them that have to be put right. There is an enormous hunger for money, and that is dangerous. The rural councils are pouncing on enterprises and trying to grab their land, without thinking of what might happen next. Liberals in the Polish United Workers Party started this trend, and the Mazowiecki and Bielecki governments continued it. Rapaciousness is the curse of this country.

[Bernhardt] Solidarity is accused of pursuing too many claims.

[Jankowski] There are times when the union must act at once. One example is Elgaz, where people were not paid for the work they had done. There are also enterprises where wages are so low in relation to enterprise profits that making claims is fully justified. Nevertheless, the basic goal is to boost production. We will consider claims later.

[Bernhardt] How do you assess the condition of your Solidarity chapter?

[Jankowski] The situation is quite stable. There are about 200,000 members of the "Mazowsze" chapter. People have become accustomed to the fact that Solidarity defends the interests of workers regardless of their affiliation. Very often, Solidarity is not present in an enterprise at all if there are no disputes with the employer. If there are, people come to us and say "we voted for Solidarity in the elections, so we belong to it." The union is going to expand. That is why it is so important to get our lost assets back.

[Bernhardt] The Solidarity congress will take place in Gdansk soon. I have heard that some unionists want to bid farewell to the old Solidarity and form a new pro-Solidarity party.

[Jankowski] There have been rumors like that for a long time. I am sure a division into a trade union and political party will not succeed at the congress. The results of regional congresses indicate that out of every two people in favor of creating a new party, there were 300 people against the idea. I know people with political ambition who did want a new party, but there are so many of these people, and their programs are so vague, that there is no danger of a single party emerging for the time being.

[Bernhardt] What is your political ambition?

[Jankowski] I do not have one. I am not a politician, but a trade unionist. I do not have the basic characteristics of a politician, in other words a hunger for power. I am quite satisfied with the power I have.

Defense Official Interviewed on Army Control

AU0305182792 Warsaw POLSKA ZBROJNA
in Polish 22 Apr 92 pp 1, 2

[Interview with Defense Vice Minister Romuald Szeremietiew by Antoni Bartkiewicz; place and date not given: "The Polish Raison d'Etat"]

[Excerpts] [Bartkiewicz] Does the present legislation permit proper control over the Army?

[Szeremietiew] There is a very lively debate in progress about who should control the Army and how. Before the wars, a similar debate turned into a serious political dispute. So this is a major problem. The current legislation states that the president is the head of the Armed Forces. He implements his authority by means of special powers and by exerting influence on the tenure of some important posts. In particular, he discusses with the prime minister who should be minister of national defense. On the defense minister's recommendation, he appoints the chief of the General Staff. After consulting the president, the defense minister appoints commanders of the military districts and individual services. The president also promotes officers to the rank of general, and cadets to the first officer rank.

During martial law, Jaruzelski introduced regulations that raised the status of the National Defense Committee [KOK]. He turned KOK into an institution that was virtually more powerful than the government. This institution survives to this very day as the National Security Council. That is an informal name. It is not mentioned in the Constitution. The president is the chairman of KOK. His deputies are the prime minister and minister of national defense. The law further says that the minister of national defense is the person responsible for managing and commanding the Armed Forces, which means that the government decides on all matters connected with the Army. The minister of national defense is the government's executive representative in Army matters. The conclusion from all this is that the president is head of the Armed Forces by virtue of being chairman of KOK, and exercises his power via the government in general, and defense minister in particular.

By means of his own decree, the president created the Office of National Security [BBN], which is meant to offer advice and assistance to KOK. Therefore, the BBN's position, on the basis of the presidential decree, is below the legal and constitutional position of the government and defense minister.

[Bartkiewicz] It is often said that there is a lack of legal regulations. There is even more talk of patriotism, democracy, and decommunization. Disputes on noble values are in progress, and yet the reality is downright banal. There are no funds, there is frequent mention of the need to cut the defense budget, successive austerity measures are announced, and idiotic ideas about reducing the Army to virtually zero are presented. What will happen if we introduce the best possible legal solutions and there is no money to implement them?

[Szeremietiew] I disagree with what you say about a lack of legal regulations. We do have them. The problem is that various people in the state leadership are not satisfied with them. Perhaps it is necessary to change the law. The procedure for that is well known. Because these are statutory and constitutional rules, it is necessary to

change the constitution and statutes. That is the parliament's job. As we know, the BBN, on the president's recommendation, has worked out draft changes to the constitution and other laws in the sphere of defense, and this draft will be placed before the Sejm soon.

A much more serious matter is that with the present budgetary slump there is not much we can achieve even with the best legal rules. The Army must have a guarantee of receiving enough funds to pay not only the wages of soldiers, but also to pay for training and equipment. The Army must maintain a high level of combat readiness, which can only be achieved through proper training and high-quality equipment, and without suitable funds that is impossible.

The Defense Ministry leadership is aware of the country's difficult situation and the various requirements in other spheres, so it is not waging any campaign for more funds. After all, the state's income is small compared to its expenditures. So we understand the difficult situation. Nevertheless we look to the future with concern, for we do not know how long the Army can be left to vegetate.

It is necessary to distinguish between two issues, legal regulations and material supplies. The first issue is the business of parliament. The dispute about legal regulations has lasted too long, one result of which is the disagreement between the BBN and Defense Ministry. However, of greater interest to the Defense Ministry leadership is supplies and the material aspect of the Army's functioning. This worries me more than legal matters. [passage omitted]

[Bartkiewicz] Decommunization is an issue frequently discussed in our lives. How is it viewed in the Army?

[Szeremietiew] Let me recall what Jan Olszewski said when he took office. He said we are not concerned with the removal of people who belonged to the Communist Party, but with the elimination of the structures that are typical of a totalitarian communist state. We say that changes must be made in the Army. The criteria for these changes have been clearly defined by Defense Minister Parys. He said there is not going to be any purge. The officer corps is judged only on its patriotism, professionalism, and loyalty to the state authorities.

It is true that many military people belonged to the PZPR [Polish United Workers Party]. A PZPR card helped bring about a promotion. It was an accessory to one's uniform, and an unwanted accessory at that. As soon as it became possible to remove this accessory, the officers heaved a sigh of relief. Yes, there are certain groups linked to the old regime, and they prefer not to see any changes at all. However, the firm majority of the cadres are eager to see changes and want to take part in them.

[Bartkiewicz] Some politicians, followed by the press, have accused the Defense Ministry of wanting to pursue its own foreign policy, and have even accused them of exaggerating eventual threats.

[Szeremietiew] These accusations are ridiculous. Perhaps they were caused by a misunderstanding. There is no doubt that the Foreign Ministry's powers in foreign policy cannot be undermined. The Defense Ministry does not pursue its own foreign policy. Instead, we concern ourselves with our country's security, which we consider a part of European security. Only in that sense do we involve ourselves in foreign policy.

There are, and there must be, differences in the way in which matters are handled. The Foreign Ministry plays a diplomatic game, so it must use cautious language. That is diplomacy. But the Defense Ministry must have a different attitude. We have to warn of dangers that may occur. We have to express fears.

As a historian, I wonder if it was a good thing that during the Second Republic, [Foreign Minister] Jozef Beck had such absolute power in foreign policy. Marshal Edward Rydz-Smigly, as chief inspector of the Armed Forces, might also have influenced foreign policy. Such an influence could improve state security.

I will recall what Minister Parys has said. He said that the threats to Poland are asymmetrical, and that there are areas to the east of Poland that are subject to destabilization. That is true. So one can hardly blame the Defense Ministry for frightening people. If a concentration of Russian forces—the former Red Army—near Kaliningrad is reported, that concentration may pose a certain threat. Foreign policy must eliminate the fears voiced by the Defense Ministry.

We are not frightening anyone with anything. We believe Poland is still safe. But will it always be so? I think it is better to issue an early warning than to overlook a danger. The Polish *raison d'etat* demands such caution.

Provinces Sign Agreement on Establishing Consortium

LD0205091392 Warsaw PAP in English 1706 GMT
1 May 92

[Text] Lublin, May 1—Representatives of three provinces in east-central Poland signed an agreement in Lublin on April 30 promoting regional cooperation and establishing a consortium which will offer financial support for privatization and structural changes.

The consortium brings together the three provinces of Lublin, Chelm and Biala Podlaska, the Depozytowo-Kredytowy and Spoldzielczy Banks in Lublin, the British consulting firm "Lancashire Enterprises" and "Inter Ams", the Polish representatives of IBM Corporation.

According to Marian Buczek, acting governor of Lublin Province, the new consortium will aim to improve the regions contacts with its eastern neighbours, and will offer support to a range of individual projects, particularly in tourism and food production.

Iliescu Chairs Higher Defense Council Meeting*AU0405192092 Bucharest ROMPRES in English
1810 GMT 4 May 92*

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 4/5/1992—The Higher Defence Council of Romania met as scheduled on 4 May under President Iliescu's chairmanship.

The meeting discussed a report on the fulfillment of the provisions of the Army equipment for 1991 and the prospects for 1992. Proposals for the application of the national security law were considered and approved concerning the organization and coordination of intelligence activities and the anti-terrorist protection of Romania's diplomatic missions abroad and of foreign diplomatic missions in Romania.

The Council heard and approved reports on the operations expenditure of intelligence services for 1992.

Draft agreements for cooperation in staff and troop training, and Army equipment between the National Defence Ministry and the relevant ministries of Hungary, France, Turkey and other countries were considered and approved.

The meeting analysed the stage of the Vienna talks on conventional arms and forces reduction, and solved current questions.

New Electoral Cartel 'Tara' Established*AU0405171592 Bucharest ROMPRES in English
1205 GMT 4 May 92*

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 4/5/1992—Several political groupings formed the electoral cartel "Tara" (The Country) on May 4, a press release shows.

The decision was made known at the end of a meeting of the Social Democratic Convention and of the National Peasant Alliance.

The convention includes the Traditional Social Democratic Party (which is represented to Parliament) and the Republican Union Party. The alliance includes the National Christian Peasant Party-The Maniu-Mihalache Line (that split from Corneliu Coposu's Christian and Democratic National Peasant Party) and the National Peasant Party.

The "Tara" cartel will contact all political groupings with a view to forming a representative coalition of the opposition. It militates, inter alia, for the observance of human rights, for a strong market economy-social protection being respected and for Romania's reunion.

FSN Calls For General Elections by End of June*AU0405182592 Bucharest Radio Romania Network
in Romanian 1700 GMT 4 May 92*

[Text] The Executive Bureau of the National Salvation Front [FSN] met today to examine the current political situation in the country and future prospects. In this

connection, referring to the general elections as the main target of our political life, the Executive Bureau sent a communique to ROMPRES, which reads, among other things, as follows: In its new structure, which relies on its new program, The Future Today, the FSN resolutely states that the only way to overcome our nation's differences and dissent is to organize general elections without any kind of delay. The latest period when these elections can be organized to avoid serious dangers for the country is the end of June.

FDSN Favors Republic, 'Does Not Accept Monarchy'*AU0505105892 Bucharest ROMPRES in English
0933 GMT 5 May 92*

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 5/5/1992—"The form of government in Romania has been solved once for all by the adoption of the republican constitution at the 8 December 1992 referendum", reads a communique of the Democratic National Salvation Front, split from the ruling National Salvation Front [FSN], at a March 1992 FSN convention.

"The Democratic National Salvation Front, FDSN, does not accept monarchy, an institution favouring the disregard of democracy, and which does not respect the democratic election of the person to be the head of the state", adds the communique of the FDSN, that has been joined by an important number of parliamentarians in the two chambers. "The fretfulness around the idea of monarchy is nefarious to the Romanian society, the more so as we have been crossing a period of transition, unclear enough. A conclusion can be drawn that there are political forces at work in Romania interested in blocking the strengthening of the country, of its democratic system", mentions the communique.

Hungarian Party Proposes To Solve Ethnic Conflict*AU0505120292 Bucharest ROMANIA LIBERA
in Romanian 24 Apr 92 p 5*

[Mircea Aries article: "A Proposal For National Reconciliation"]

[Text] The Hungarian Christian Democratic Party of Romania [PCDMR], based in Tirgu Mures, which so far has been acting only in the shadow of the Democratic Union of Hungarians in Romania [UDMR] has entered the country's political scene by presenting a proposal intended to offer concrete solutions for reducing the interethnic tension between Romanians and Hungarians. We reproduce here the proposal, which was issued on 15 April 1992. "Since our victorious revolution, which we accomplished together, differences of opinion between the Romanians and Hungarians have been constantly increasing, both in Parliament and in social life, the cause each time consisting of the different opinions of the two sides as far as the rights of the Hungarians in Romania are concerned.(...) Our party believes that it has found that lever or that example that might serve as a basis for reconciliation and proposes it

to both sides as an acceptable compromise that is monitorable and easy to implement. The Romanians in Transylvania view the period before World War I as one of the darkest and most unbearable in their history. Therefore, they cannot consider it an exaggerated demand if somebody aspires to a similar situation. However, we, the Hungarians in Romania, wish nothing else and no more than to ask our leaders to thoroughly study the rights of Romanians in Transylvania at the beginning of our century and, through a concerted accord, ensure the Hungarians in Romania, without any modification, exactly the same rights. For the sake of conciliation, we will be pleased with just that. In any event, the Romanians cannot say that these demands are exaggerated."

This proposal was addressed to the Legal Commission of the UDMR, the government, and Romania's Parliament, and the appropriate commission of the European Parliament in Strasbourg. Likewise, the assistance of the Christian-Democratic International in Brussels has been requested.

Considering the fact that this proposal has been made only in the name of the PCDMR, it is still to be seen to what extent the UDMR and the Hungarian ethnic citizens of Romania would accept this proposal being discussed and implemented. First of all, the PCDMR should make public, through the mass media, those rights that they have been referring to, so that both the Hungarians and the Romanians can get to know them and get to know the way in which that party envisages the implementation of those rights.

PDAR's Surdu Comments on Agricultural Issues

*AU0105130092 Bucharest CURIERUL NATIONAL
in Romanian 24 Apr 92 pp 1, 4*

[Interview with Victor Surdu, president of the Democratic Agrarian Party of Romania, by Andrei Alexandru; place and date not given: "We Have Become a National Party"]

[Text] [Alexandru] Your party enjoys great support among the population in rural areas. What is the current stage of the application of the Land Law?

[Surdu] Approximately 66 percent of the 14 million hectares of agricultural lands have already been given back to their rightful owners. These lands were measured so that people know where their plots of land are. The process of completing the documents of ownership is also progressing rapidly.

[Alexandru] What is the behavior of people after they are given back their property?

[Surdu] There are three categories of people: Fit for work; sick or old, who are helped by young people who have left for the cities; and a third category made up of people who are physically unfit to till their lands. Unfortunately, the draft law on leasing, which would solve the problem of untillable lands, has still not been endorsed by parliament. In accordance with this draft bill, those who are fit will till the

lands of the physically unfit on the basis of a monetary understanding. In the absence of this law, for the time being, people reach understandings and form associations. Unfortunately, there are still specialists in the country who have not been given any land and a drastic fall in their number would be a disaster for our agriculture.

[Alexandru] Your party is holding the agriculture portfolio. Given your position, what actions are you taking so that this year we will not have to resort to importing agricultural products?

[Surdu] We have warned the government and the president, and have issued a warning signal through the press—and we have achieved something. Government Decision No. 54 envisages an 80-billion-lei credit at a low interest rate to finance the spring campaign, irrespective of who the owner is. Back payments are to be made at the end of the agricultural year. Unfortunately, the financing process stopped at 39.6 billion lei in the past few days. Likewise, fertilizers, pesticides, and the necessary fuel oil were not ensured. Whenever we mobilize all factors on which agricultural problems depend, we do not do so for petty publicity reasons, but because lands do not wait and animals do not listen to explanations, even though some of them are objective. Unfortunately, the decision-making levers are not all within the Democratic Agrarian Party of Romania [PDAR].

[Alexandru] What is happening with the patrimony of the former agricultural production cooperatives?

[Surdu] This patrimony was transferred to the town halls; however, this does not mean that the problem has been solved, because one does not know what the town halls are going to do from now on. A law is needed in this respect.

[Alexandru] What other initiatives has the PDAR taken to improve agricultural activities?

[Surdu] We have set up the Foundation for Agriculture made up of the club of men of science, the club of businessmen, the club of bankers, and the club of farmers. Regular meetings within these clubs and between clubs lead to contacts between people that may solve a lot of problems. In a few days the Chamber of Commerce for Agriculture will be set up, as well as a private bank for agricultural credits. All of these initiatives will ultimately extend to villages.

[Alexandru] What strategy will you apply in the elections?

[Surdu] The results of the local elections, in which we won 11.8 percent of the total number of votes cast for councillors, prove that we have become a national party. From the point of view of certain alliances, it is difficult to supply an answer, because, as you yourself can see, there are so many movements within important parties. Maybe we can set up alliances after the elections. However, these issues will be discussed on 5 May in Bucharest's Parc Hall during the National Coordinating Council's session at which we will launch our political

program. At that meeting we will also decide which candidate our party is going to back in the presidential elections.

Cluj Mayor Urges Ban of 'Anti-National' Meetings

AU0405150092 Bucharest AZI in Romanian
29 Apr 92 p 2

[Corina Cretu-signed article: "As If They Had Been in Their Own Homeland"]

[Text] The newspaper most vehemently criticizing the election of the representative of the National Unity Party of Romanians [PUNR] as Cluj mayor was—as we all remember—the daily ROMANIA LIBERA. This is perhaps also due to the fact that Cluj is a large town, watched—with craving eyes, in certain cases—by very many people.

The first measure taken by Mr. Gheorghe Funar (PUNR) after entering office as elected mayor of Cluj was to outlaw the selling of pornographic magazines, which had virtually flooded and drowned Cluj over the previous two years. His next bold deed—one could even call it spectacular—came a few days ago, as the new mayor imposed an off-hand ban on an international seminar on local autonomy issues that was to be organized in Cluj, mind you!, by the FIDESZ [Union of Young Democrats] pro-minority foundation, which is based in Budapest. The representatives of this organization—Eva Blenesi, Attila Ledenyi, Lajos Tamar, and Tibor Toro—asked for the assistance of the Cluj organization of MADISZ [Union of Democratic Youth, which belongs to the Democratic Union of Hungarians in Romania], which they were also granted. The seminar was to be attended by the "Detmeijerstichting" [spelling as published] Foundation [of the Netherlands], the Foundation for Tolerant Societies in Eastern Europe [preceding name in English], The Union of Hungarian Youth Organizations in Romania, and the Liberal Circle, which is a platform of the Democratic Union of Hungarians in Romania [UDMR]. The alleged aim of the meeting was to discuss issues concerning the structure and functioning of the self-government system in the Netherlands (?). Honorary guests: Peter Neeb, the mayor of Dudensboch town; a member of the Municipal council of Buda; Hedwig Komproe, a deputy of the Regional council of Northern Holland; Coby de Blecourt, a deputy of the Gelderland Regional council; and Herman Lauxsterman, a member of the Dutch Parliament [spelling of names of people and institutions as published]. As one can see, no Romanian organization—neither a governmental nor a non-governmental one—has been asked to participate, not even as eyewash. Under such circumstances, organizing such a conference in Romania seems at least bizarre, if not suspect. Why would just a simple meeting between Dutch and Hungarian people be organized as far away as in Cluj (by the way, this town is called Kolozsvár in the official invitation)? The mayor of

Cluj might have been acting on account of this understandable suspicion as he "suspended" the seminar (this is the term used in his written orders), even if the reasons being brought up (seen with the eyes of an expert) do not seem very appropriate.

I do not know whether the term "international scandal" is appropriate either. One could expect, though, that the special guests—who arrived in Romania before they could be notified that their visit had lost its aim—will complain about the "discrimination" to which they have been subjected. The embassy of the Netherlands in Bucharest—which has been involved in suspect events before—might also react. In this way, the image of Romania abroad will be given a new blow. And all this, just because certain people in Budapest looked at the world map and nonchalantly planned a conference—without asking anyone—to take place in a town they considered most "attractive," as if they had been in their own homeland.

National Bank Announces New Hard Currency Rules

AU0405171392 Bucharest ROMPRES in English
1627 GMT 4 May 92

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 4/5/1992—New hard-currency rules become effective as of today 4 May 1992, a news conference at the National Bank of Romania was told.

In an essential departure from the previous provisions, all Romanian artificial persons—state-owned, private or mixed—may have hard-currency accounts.

Hard-currency operations by economic agents shall observe four basic principles, namely: payments in the territory of Romania shall be made in lei; hard-currency accounts can be run by Romanian or foreign banks that are based in Romania; the hard currency shall be sold and bought on the market subject to the National Bank of Romania's regulations; hard-currency availabilities can be used for current operations.

Receipts from exports on which duties were levied prior to 4 May fall under the previous hard-currency rules: They are payable in lei at the day's exchange rate to exporting economic agents.

The hard-currency market shall be run in the previous system for at least another 10-14 days, in which time the National Bank of Romania shall take action jointly with commercial banks to convert all the lei in stock.

The hard-currency market shall open in the new system only after all the lei in stock are converted.

The hard-currency rules provide for export earnings to be fully paid into the accounts of economic exporters who are not under the express obligation of selling 30 per cent on the market at the time of the receipt.

The rules also strengthen the right of natural persons residing in Romania to lawfully own and use hard currency.

UN Under Secretary Marrack Goulding Arrives

*AU0505104492 Belgrade Radio Beograd Network
in Serbo-Croatian 1000 GMT 5 May 92*

[Risto Djogo report from Sarajevo]

[Text] At around 0900 GMT the loud explosions caused by artillery fire that, after a short-lived truce, had been heard in Sarajevo since the morning hours fell silent. As journalists have got into the habit of saying, only some sporadic shooting can be heard now.

Many people are linking this with today's meeting in Sarajevo. Marrack Goulding, under secretary of the United Nations peacekeeping forces, is on his way to Sarajevo.

Otherwise, according to information from the Headquarters of the Territorial Defense of the Serbian Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina, Serbian territorials are holding most of the left side of Sarajevo, that is to say, the southern part of Sarajevo, from Skenderija to Ilidza. There was also fierce fighting in Ilidza this morning because Muslim forces from Sandzak carried out an attack toward the center of Ilidza. There was a fierce response so that the Serbian Territorials of Ilidza are now in control of the whole territory.

Otherwise, we have already said that Marrack Goulding, under secretary of the United Nations peacekeeping forces, is due in Sarajevo today for talks with representatives of the rump Presidency of Bosnia-Herzegovina, Fikret Abdic and Stjepan Kijujic. He will also meet Lieutenant General Milutin Kukanjac, commander of the Second Military District, and representatives of the Headquarters of the Territorial Defense of Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina. Later in the day it has been announced that Goulding will also meet Dr. Radovan Karadzic, president of the Serbian Democratic Party of Bosnia-Herzegovina.

Marrack Goulding landed by helicopter at Pale at around 0900 GMT. He was greeted by Dr. Branko Djeric, president of the Government of the Serbian Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina. At a brief and informal meeting, Goulding and Djeric expressed concern at the war operations in Bosnia-Herzegovina and their readiness for political means to be used to settle the Bosnia-Herzegovina crisis. Goulding will continue his journey to Sarajevo, as soon as conditions are created for this, and they are being created with the truce in Sarajevo.

Convoy Denied Passage to Sarajevo

*LD0505120592 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network
in Serbo-Croatian 1000 GMT 5 May 92*

[Excerpts] [Passage omitted] It is not known when and whether the talks between the Bosnian Presidency and the Yugoslav People's Army [JNA] will be held. There is another problem. Marrack Goulding, a special UN advisor for peace operations, happened to be in Pale [Serbian-controlled village east of Sarajevo]. His passage to the UNPROFOR [UN Protective Forces] command is also a

problem, because the forces of the Serbian Democratic Party are not allowing the convoy to go through. The question has been raised in the Presidency, from where I am reporting, of how that honorable gentlemen managed to get to Pale in the first place. [passage omitted]

The command of the Territorial Defense has called on commanders of all military facilities to hold a meeting tomorrow in the headquarters of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Territorial Defense in order to arrange the withdrawal from these military facilities. If they fail to observe the ultimatum, the Territorial Defense of Bosnia-Herzegovina said that all their facilities would be destroyed. It should also be said that almost all barracks in Sarajevo, as well as the military hospital, are surrounded.

While I am reporting, explosions can still be heard in Sarajevo, and bodies of killed civilians, which cannot be removed due to gunfire, have been lying on the streets, sidewalks, and parking lots since yesterday. There is also a large number of wounded in basements and shelters who cannot be approached by ambulances. There is no notion of any food provision in Sarajevo. There is no bread nor milk, and all shops are closed.

Presidency Requests Foreign Military Intervention

*LD0405191192 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service
in Serbo-Croatian 1820 GMT 4 May 92*

[Text] Sarajevo, 4 May (TANJUG)—The Bosnia-Herzegovina Presidency's decision to seek foreign military intervention was caused by the developments in Bosnia-Herzegovina and by the unending and persistent aggression, the president of the rump Bosnia-Herzegovina Presidency, Alija Izetbegovic, said at this evening's news conference. He added that "it was believed that the aggression could be halted by the energetic demands of the international community," but, according to Izetbegovic, "factors taking part in the aggression against Bosnia-Herzegovina are not sensitive to threats."

According to Izetbegovic, the situation is such that, without "a military intervention, at least a temporary one, stability cannot be preserved."

According to him, what is at stake "is the protection of an enormous number of citizens subject to genocide, expulsions, and repatriation." The international community, Izetbegovic said, could not be indifferent to all this. Izetbegovic said that negotiations with General Kukanjac, scheduled for today, did not materialize because it was not safe to travel to the UN Protection Force Building at the set time. He said that in the course of today several contacts were established with the Army and that a group of cadets from the school center of the Marsal Tito barracks were freed and allowed to leave the barracks.

Instead of approaching the Bosnia-Herzegovina Presidency, the Army, according to Izetbegovic, asked the U.S. Embassy to intervene, stating that the Bosnia-Herzegovina authorities were not allowing any evacuation from the barracks. The Bosnia-Herzegovina Presidency never has tried either to prevent or hamper the evacuation, Izetbegovic claimed. Asked to comment on the fact that the international community first threatened Serbia with strict sanctions, only to take a softer approach later, Izetbegovic said that "the international community has merely delayed and not softened its actions against Serbia."

In Izetbegovic's view, this was done in an obvious attempt to give Serbia an opportunity to rectify its behavior toward Bosnia-Herzegovina. A CSCE meeting will take place tomorrow and then we will see what the international community's attitude is toward Serbia, Izetbegovic said.

He added that it would be premature to conclude that the international community has abandoned the idea of sanctions or of help for Bosnia-Herzegovina. In conclusion, Izetbegovic denied that he is leaving for Turkey or that Army families or Jews are being persecuted. Such disinformation is designed to compromise Bosnia-Herzegovina, but such attempts, as far as the world community is concerned, have been a failure, Izetbegovic said.

Endorses Aid Request

LD0405161892 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network
in Serbo-Croatian 1500 GMT 4 May 92

[Report from Sarajevo by Slavko Rako]

[Excerpts] At this very moment the sky above Sarajevo and the Bosnia-Herzegovina Presidency, from where I am reporting, is being violated by combat aircraft of the former Yugoslav Army. There is no information about whether they are on combat operations.

It seems that the Bosnia-Herzegovina Presidency today decided to do what should have been done long ago. A statement from its session, released a few minutes ago, says that the aggressors against Bosnia-Herzegovina are Serbia and Montenegro, that is the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia [FRY], through the medium of the former Yugoslav People's Army [JNA] and with the help of the Serbian Democratic Party's paramilitary formations and paramilitary formations from the FRY. Bearing this in mind, the Presidency adopted a stance that the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina, as a CSCE member, will seek military assistance from abroad. This is said in the statement, which adds that Bosnia-Herzegovina Foreign Minister Haris Silajdzic will advocate this at tomorrow's CSCE session.

The provisional emblem and flag of the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina have been defined. The emblem is in the shape of a shield; it is blue divided by a white diagonal stripe, with three gold fleurs-de-lis in each area.

The Bosnia-Herzegovina flag is white with the Bosnia-Herzegovina emblem in the middle.

The Presidency also has approved that military personnel and civilians working for the Second Military District Command who were captured yesterday be freed. They will express their preferences about their future status clearly, in the presence of representatives of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Territorial Defense, the former JNA, the UN Protection Force, and the European Community, and their free will will be respected, the statement says.

Regarding other information from Sarajevo, it should be said the arrival of Alija Izetbegovic, president of Bosnia-Herzegovina Presidency, briefly interrupted the afternoon news conference at the international press center. He briefly told journalists: A few moments ago yet another piece of disinformation was launched in Belgrade to the effect that I have fled to Turkey. As you can see, that is not true. I am here and I will address the public this evening. [passage omitted]

In the third combat onslaught of aircraft of the former Yugoslav Army, bombs were dropped on Sarajevo a few minutes ago for the first time since the beginning of the war in Sarajevo. We have no information about what type of missiles are involved, but the Ministry for Internal Affairs and the Security Services Center confirmed that the aircraft bombed positions held by Territorial Defense at the village of Zlatiste on Mount Trebevic and in the outskirts of the old city municipality, where Sarajevo defenders also have strongholds.

For the first time, an air alert was sounded in the entire city of Sarajevo; all citizens of Sarajevo thus took to shelters and cellars. Following the air attacks, strong detonations can be heard in Sarajevo, and the city is being pounded from artillery and tanks.

[Paris AFP in English at 1608 GMT on 4 May adds the following information concerning the air raid on Sarajevo: "Yugoslav warplanes overflew Sarajevo Monday [4 May] afternoon triggering a full air raid alert while a police spokesman said the city was under attack from all sides. The spokesman said several "vital" targets had been hit by Serbian-led forces.

["The alert was sounded at 1445 GMT just after several warplanes overflew the Bosnia-Herzegovina capital. An explosion rang out from Zlatist, a hill southeast of the city just after the planes went over.

["The radio said federal tanks and soldiers were meanwhile moving down towards the large Skenderija shopping centre, while other Serbian-led troops were heading towards an avenue which divides the city along a north-south axis. West of the avenue is the part of the Sarajevo claimed by Serbian secessionists.

["Radio Sarajevo said fighting erupted early in the afternoon in Otoka district near a federal Army barracks.

A radio relay station at Hum on a hill north of Sarajevo was hit by gunfire from the barracks.

["Police said six people had been killed by a Yugoslav Army tank on a road on the fringe of Sarajevo."]

Kukanjac To Meet Izetbegovic; Issues Demands

LD0405123792 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service
in Serbo-Croatian 1118 GMT 4 May 92

[Text] Sarajevo, 4 May (TANJUG)—I am ready to start negotiations with Alija Izetbegovic, but it is impossible to find him, the commander of the Second Army District, Colonel General Milutin Kukanjac, told a TANJUG journalist today.

Kukanjac also said that he was to meet Izetbegovic at 1100, but had not managed to contact him. UN representatives are to mediate in their talks. The Sarajevo authorities officially stated that negotiations had been canceled because Gen. Kukanjac conditioned them with the previous release of officers, soldiers, and civilians who were captured last night in the assault on the Yugoslav People's Army (JNA) convoy that was evacuating them from the surrounded building of the JNA Command in Sarajevo.

Gen. Kukanjac said he is not conditioning his meeting with Izetbegovic with anything, but he insists on the release of the captives and injured soldiers and the return of bodies of those who were killed. The commander of the Second Army District demanded that eight soldiers who were captured near Butmir [Sarajevo] Airport on 22 April be immediately released.

Denounces Izetbegovic's Actions

LD0405153892 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service
in Serbo-Croatian 1359 GMT 4 May 92

[Text] Sarajevo, 4 May (TANJUG)—General Milutin Kukanjac, commander of the Second Military District, today accused Alija Izetbegovic, president of the Bosnia-Herzegovina rump Presidency, of being indirectly responsible for a brutal attack last night on officers, soldiers, and civilians as they were being evacuated from the building of the Second Military District Command.

"Alija Izetbegovic went back on his word given to both the United Nations and the EC. I believe that he was indirectly involved since he failed to wait until the entire convoy had passed Skenderija," General Kukanjac told TANJUG.

The convoy was attacked at Skenderija as soon as the vehicle carrying Izetbegovic left the convoy. The attack took place despite the guarantees given by the Bosnia-Herzegovina authorities and the UN representatives that the convoy would be given safe passage.

"What happened yesterday is an act of vandalism and bestiality. The convoy of military vehicles was proceeding away from the Second Military District Command building in an orderly manner when it was treacherously attacked despite the presence of General Lewis MacKenzie, head of the UN Protection Force, and Colm Doyle, an EC envoy, General Kukanjac said.

"A brutal attack was carried out on people who were sitting in their vehicles waiting to move on. They were first disarmed, their equipment was seized. The Green Berets shot them in the back from close range," General Kukanjac said. The Second Military District commander said that he had believed General MacKenzie and Colm Doyle but not Alija Izetbegovic who, according to Kukanjac, has violated all previous agreements.

"I think that the world now has realized what kind of people are involved in this and that it is members of the Yugoslav People's Army (JNA) and Serbs who are threatened in Bosnia-Herzegovina. We will defend ourselves, the Serb population, and all those who are under threat."

The Army, Kukanjac said, is doing its utmost to free those captured. "I appeal to both the domestic and international public to ensure that my people are returned to me, dead or alive, and to speak the truth about Alija Izetbegovic's 'peaceful intentions'."

Kukanjac accused the Muslim-Croat forces of continuing with their attacks on JNA facilities in Sarajevo. The Army hospital in the center of the town is surrounded. It is being fired at from Zolja-type recoilless guns.

Deadline Set for Army Withdrawal From Sarajevo

LD0505113292 Belgrade TANJUG in English
1016 GMT 5 May 92

[Text] Sarajevo, May 5 (TANJUG)—The Territorial Defence Headquarters, which is under the command of Bosnia-Herzegovina's rump presidency, has set a deadline to the Yugoslav People's Army (JNA) to withdraw from barracks in the Bosnian capital Sarajevo by midnight on May 6, as announced at the headquarters this morning.

The Territorial Defence will guarantee safe withdrawal of the Army until midnight tomorrow, the statement said. At least four JNA members were killed and 15 wounded on Sunday night when Moslem-Croat extremists attacked a column of JNA vehicles, carrying the troops from the JNA Second District Headquarters to a barrack in Sarajevo's suburb. The column, escorted by representatives of U.N. Protection Forces (UNPROFOR), was attacked as soon as Alija Izetbegovic, president of the Bosnia-Herzegovina's rump presidency, left one of the vehicles. Izetbegovic, under an agreement reached

through the mediation of E.C. and U.N. representatives, guaranteed that the JNA could safely pull out from the attacked headquarters.

A safe withdrawal was the condition for the release of Izetbegovic, who was detained in a JNA barrack on his return from Lisbon where he attended the E.C.-sponsor conference on Bosnia-Herzegovina. The Yugoslav Presidency on Monday [4 May] decided to withdraw from Bosnia-Herzegovina all citizens of the federal Republic of Yugoslavia (SRJ) serving in the JNA to the SRJ territory within 15 days.

Serb Republic Interior Ministry Mobilizes

LD0405163192 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service
in Serbo-Croatian 1601 GMT 4 May 92

[Text] Belgrade, 4 May (TANJUG)—The Ministry for Internal Affairs of the Serb Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina has ordered that all active workers of the ministry who are of the Serbian nationality must report within 48 hours.

According to the order, workers from Sarajevo are duty-bound to report to the headquarters of the ministry, which is in the school for internal affairs in Vraca, or to the nearest police station. Lists of workers in the Serb police station who report for work will be forwarded to the Ministry for Internal Affairs of the Serb Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina. All those who do not obey the order will not be able to work for the ministry, and measures will be undertaken against them for refusing to obey work orders, the order says.

Territorials Claim They Reconquered Vrace

AU0405173692 Sarajevo Radio Sarajevo Network
in Serbo-Croatian 1700 GMT 4 May 92

[Zdenko Vranjes report from the International Press Center in Bosnia-Herzegovina Presidency—live]

[Excerpt] [Vranjes] I have the latest information that has arrived here at the International Press Center. Namely, as we have learned, a (?major) offensive by the defenders of the town is under way in Vrace. The Ministry of Internal Affairs school has already been taken, that is to say, (?it was taken before dawn). A few armored vehicles have already fallen into the hands of the defenders of the town and it is expected (?that they will soon join) the Territorial Defense units that are situated in Zlatiste.

It was also reported that a Yugoslav Peoples' Army unit with six armored personnel carriers in Mojmiljo joined the side of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Territorial Defense. The Territorial Defense of Bosnia-Herzegovina (?has already taken over) this unit and (?at the time that I speak) has taken over the town water supply in Mojmiljo. This is the latest news. [passage omitted]

Jets Reportedly Bomb Hum Relay Station

AU0405174192 Sarajevo Radio Sarajevo Network
in Serbo-Croatian 1728 GMT 4 May 92

[Text] We have just received a report that the Hum relay station is currently being attacked by aircraft. The second and third channels of Sarajevo Television are not on the air. The first channel is functioning.

We have also received a report that a fierce infantry battle is currently taking place in Vrbanja between the extremists of the Serbian Democratic Party and the defenders of the town.

JNA Announces 171 Soldiers Released in Sarajevo

LD0405193192 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service
in Serbo-Croatian 1826 GMT 4 May 92

[Excerpts] Sarajevo, 4 May (TANJUG)—The command of the Second Military District of the Yugoslav People's Army [JNA] announced tonight that 171 men and officers taken prisoner during the brutal and fascist attack on a column of military vehicles on Dobrovoljacka Street in Sarajevo yesterday were released at 1600 GMT tonight.

This, the statement says, signals the start of the implementation of the demand passed on by the command to the EC mission and UNPROFOR [UN Protection Forces] command, that all prisoners should be returned, that the exact number of wounded should be established and their exact whereabouts disclosed, and that the men who have been killed should be identified and their number established.

Tomorrow, the statement continues, 62 more officers and men should be returned. In addition, the exact number of wounded and their whereabouts should be established and those who were killed should be identified. [passage omitted]

We would like to to inform all parents, wives, and children that we will do everything in our power to get back those who have been captured, find out everyone who has been wounded, and identify the killed men, the statement of the command of the Second Military District says in conclusion.

Belgrade Correspondent Describes Sarajevo

AU0405200392 Belgrade Radio Beograd Network
in Serbo-Croatian 1912 GMT 4 May 92

[Text] Our correspondent Risto Djogo is just calling us from Sarajevo with the latest information:

[Djogo] There is a real war drama in Sarajevo tonight. The entire town is reverberating with detonations. A real battle for Sarajevo has started. Muslim paramilitary

units have carried out strong attacks on military facilities, on the Marshal Tito Barracks, the Military Hospital, and the Viktor Bubanj Barracks. They also opened fire in the direction of the airport.

The Serbian Territorial Defense is defending the Serbian part of Sarajevo, while the Yugoslav People's Army is returning fire to attacks aimed at it.

There is real chaos in Sarajevo tonight. The Muslim forces in Alipasa Polje and other parts of the town where they are controlling the situation are maltreating, killing, and harassing Serbs. After 1600 GMT, the Serbian Territorial Defense took positions from (?Dobanja) most to half way to Grbavica. Fierce battles are being waged near the shopping area. The Serbian forces have taken Železnikar's [local soccer team] stadium and are trying to mop up the area between Hrasno and Svrakino Selo.

Air Force aircraft were overflying Sarajevo, but were not in combat action. They were only trying to frighten the enemy. However, the Muslim paramilitary units decided, before the release of [Bosnia-Herzegovina President] Alija Izetbegovic, to use massacres, terror, and other wild acts to try to break the Serbian territorials and the Yugoslav People's Army.

The air alert is still in effect at present. Many citizens are in their cellars. The so-called Territorial Defense of Bosnia-Herzegovina is currently regrouping in Alipasa Polje and Mojmiro. We were told by the Headquarters of the Serbian commune of Novi Grad that paramilitary formations are hitting the Zuc hill, the territory above Gorak Potok. Two people were wounded in the local commune of (?Rosa) Hadzivukovic in Novi Grad. The wounds were inflicted with shrapnel. The situation is somewhat calmer in Ilidza. However, Sokolovic Kolonija, Butmir, and Hrasnica are being shelled. The Muslim forces are trying to resolve the situation to their advantage because Butmir airport is of vital importance for them.

The Rump Presidency of Bosnia-Herzegovina today decided to seek military help from abroad. This help will officially be sought at the CSCE tomorrow. There are many more political activities, but they are not worth mentioning because it is arms that are talking in Sarajevo tonight.

Esteemed countrymen, do not try to telephone Sarajevo because lines have been destroyed for already three or four days. You can get all the information from Belgrade Radio because the propaganda conducted by Sarajevo Radio and other media is impudent. This was also stated by General Kukanjac today. While Biljana Plavsic and many other analysts claim that this house has been used for a propaganda of more aggressive nature than that in Croatia.

Fire Brigade Claims 'Sarajevo on Fire'

AU0405200692 Sarajevo Radio Sarajevo Network
in Serbo-Croatian 1944 GMT 4 May 92

[Excerpt] Mehmed Alija Junuzovic has just telephoned us from the fire brigade. Unfortunately you must have a lot of work this evening.

[Junuzovic] Hello. Good evening even if it is not a good evening. Citizens of Sarajevo, could I ask you to do the following:

The town of Sarajevo is on fire. All fire teams and fire brigades of the town of Sarajevo and the Vratnik fire brigade society are out in the field. I appeal to the citizens of Sarajevo to come out and protect the town. The latest information that I have received is that Bascarsija [the old part of Sarajevo] is also on fire. I appeal to citizens who love this town to come out wherever there are fires and try to put them out. [passage omitted]

Military Hospital Considered Army 'Stronghold'

AU0405203492 Sarajevo Radio Sarajevo Network
in Serbo-Croatian 1949 GMT 4 May 92

[Savidz Molhota report from the Press Center of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Territorial Defense]

[Text] We have confirmed reports that the Military Hospital has stopped functioning completely. This is no longer a hospital building but a unique stronghold, a real bunker. Sniper nests, fortified by sand bags, are positioned on many floors. All the remaining people in the hospital are armed with automatic rifles and have been supplied with great amounts of ammunition.

A big group of members of the special military units from Nis are in the hospital. They are members of the so-called antiterrorist squad for rapid deployment or of the squad for terrorist actions, to be precise. They are armed with the most modern weapons. Around the hospital they have positioned nests of machine gun and groups of soldiers with portable rocket launchers, as well as two armored personnel carriers at the entrance to the hospital.

We are presenting all this so that the public will know that the hospital is now far away from having any humanitarian and medical purpose and to distance ourselves from any staged attacks by the Territorial Defense on, in inverted commas, a medical institution.

[Signed] The Press Center of the Headquarters of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Territorial Defense.

Sarajevo Defenders Advance on Serb Strongholds

LD0405204892 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network
in Serbo-Croatian 2000 GMT 4 May 92

[Slavko Rako report]

[Excerpts] Fierce fighting is under way in Sarajevo this evening. According to information from the Bosnia-Herzegovina Territorial Defense Headquarters, the city defenders are advancing toward the strongest Chetnik position in the city, the well-known Vraca. It has been learned that a military unit with seven transporters, which was stationed on Mojmiro for more than a month, has surrendered this evening. It has joined the city defenders in their conquest of Vraca. Also from the city, the defenders are pounding with mortars positions on

the foothills of Mount Trebevic. Confused aggressors and representatives of the Yugo-army are at this moment aimlessly pounding the city with mortar, tank and artillery shells. Shells are also falling around the building of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Presidency. According to the latest information, the fire brigade has been called because the Bosnia-Herzegovina Assembly is on fire. [passage omitted]

The Presidency held another session this evening and named a negotiating team for talks with representatives of the Yugo-army about their status in Bosnia-Herzegovina. The team comprises Fikret Abdic and Stjepan Kljajic. [passage omitted]

Chetnik formations and the Yugo-army are waging a fierce propaganda war. They are releasing information to the world that cadets in the Marshal Tito barracks are in danger, and even U.S. Ambassador Zimmerman has intervened to urge their release. The latest information from the Bosnia-Herzegovina Presidency is that Viktor Bubanj barracks, the military police headquarters, is surrounded and about 30 combat vehicles have been taken from there, which are expected to join the city defenders in their conquest of Vraca. At this moment, windows in the Bosnia-Herzegovina Presidency are shaking from powerful explosions coming from all parts of the city.

Army Unit in Mojmilov Surrenders to 'Defenders'

*LD0505033392 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network
in Serbo-Croatian 0300 GMT 5 May 92*

[Text] Fierce street battles have been fought in Sarajevo since last night [4 May], in the course of which the Territorial Defense of Bosnia-Herzegovina is gaining the edge. The city's defenders are advancing toward the largest Chetnik stronghold in the city in Vrace. An army unit, comprising seven armored personnel carriers, which has been stationed in Mojmilov for over one month, has surrendered and joined the defenders, who

are also attacking the aggressor's positions at the foot of Mt. Trebevic. The Viktor Bubanj barracks have been besieged, while its soldiers are expected to join the defenders of Bosnia-Herzegovina.

Muslim Forces Attack Serbian Village

*AU0505110092 Belgrade Radio Beograd Network
in Serbo-Croatian 1000 GMT 5 May 92*

[Vladimir Mitric report]

[Text] As I report, Muslim-Ustasha formations are opening fierce mortar and infantry fire at Serbian positions from the village of Sapna. The Serbian village of Boskovici is coming under most attack from the fighters of the Party of Democratic Action. It was fiercely attacked several days ago, too.

We have learned that the Serbian Territorials are successfully resisting the attacks. There is no information about possible dead and wounded. Under the present circumstances, Sapna is the village where most Ustasha-Muslim formations are concentrated. It has been shown this time, too, that Muslim extremists are using every truce to regroup and revive their forces.

Telephone Lines to Other Republics in Disarray

*AU0405213492 Sarajevo Radio Sarajevo Network
in Serbo-Croatian 2000 GMT 4 May 92*

[Text] Telephone links between Bosnia-Herzegovina and Croatia and Slovenia have been totally disrupted. The links with Serbia are also experiencing difficulties. This was stated today by the Association of the Yugoslav PTT [post, telephone, and telegraph] organizations. Because of this breakdown, Croatia and Slovenia can no longer be dialed from Macedonia, Montenegro, and Serbia via Sarajevo. The only traffic that is still operational is that between Sarajevo and Belgrade, but there are difficulties with it because these lines are used by Bosnia-Herzegovina for dialing other countries.

President Tudjman Holds News Conference

LD0405180292 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network
in Serbo-Croatian 1000 GMT 4 May 92

[Weekly news conference given by Croatian President Franjo Tudjman in Zagreb—live]

[Excerpts] [Correspondent] Mr. President, please. If [words indistinct] is Croatia, with its neighboring state of Bosnia-Herzegovina, and possibly some other European state—because of the (?destruction) of Bosnia-Herzegovina and Croatia—planning to do something that could be called a military response to the Serbian aggression?

Second, in connection with my first question, how are you interpreting the most frequently uttered phrase: That the war is over in Croatia, Mr. President.

And my third question: Is the Croatian Assembly planning to say something about [word indistinct] (?elections)? Thank you very much, Mr. President.

[Tudjman] To your first question on whether Croatia is planning to react to the spreading of the war to Bosnia-Herzegovina: No. Croatia is not planning to intervene in Bosnia-Herzegovina with its forces, because Croatia has accepted the involvement of the European Community and the United Nations, the Security Council, to solve the crisis on the entire area of former Yugoslavia, peacefully.

What is happening now in Bosnia-Herzegovina only confirms our assessments of what we have warned and drawn the attention of all international factors, that the crisis will eventually be concentrated on Bosnia-Herzegovina. We have pointed out that political steps should be taken, political plans for the resolution of that crisis, but we have also called on the European Community and all international factors to take the most specific possible steps to force both Serbia and the former Yugoslav army to stop the aggression.

Unfortunately, the EC the CSCE, and the Security Council, have so far taken only political and diplomatic steps, which have not proved effective enough. However, judging things objectively, we cannot say that they have not had any effect, because they have led to the fact that in the framework of forming the so-called Zabljacka Yugoslavia—I was told it is called that because Serbia and Montenegro agreed to form that Yugoslavia in Zabljak—in that act, they are talking about the recognition of other states which have been formed. Therefore, that is a compromise and an indication that they will have to give up and withdraw from Croatia in line with what they have agreed to, and that they will have to stop the aggression in Bosnia-Herzegovina.

I believe that this deterioration in Croatia, primarily in the border areas, and especially now in Bosnia-Herzegovina, are actually the final spasms of this aggressive policy, this imperial policy of Serbia and Montenegro in trying to capture as much as they can, i.e. to conceal their defeat by the barbaric deeds they are now engaged in.

Therefore, in connection with your first question, I believe that the international community, the EC, the CSCE, and the Security Council will nevertheless, despite all this barbaric behavior and the recent deterioration of the situation, that they will nevertheless force the aggressor—that is, the remnants of the Yugoslav army, which has become a Serbian army, and Serbia and Montenegro—to stop the aggression. If they do not manage to do that within the next few days, then, I am convinced that Europe and the world, the United Nations and the United States will have to take some more concrete steps that will halt the aggression.

Your second question regarding the end of the war. We said in Croatia, I personally said, that Croatia won the war, completely, because we defeated both the Yugoslav Army and the Serbian, Chetnik and other territorial and volunteer units on the territory of Croatia, forced the Yugoslav Army to retreat from a larger part of Croatia, not a larger part—the Croatian territories under occupation represent 23 percent of all Croatian territory [sentence as heard]. Therefore, as regards Croatia, in the political and strategic sense, the war was over, speaking in general terms, at the moment when the Yugoslav Army and Serbia had to give up their general plans to topple the democratic government and to occupy Croatian territories.

Of course this does not mean that we considered the war ended for the whole of Croatia. It is clear that for the territory that the Yugoslav Army and the Serbian units kept under occupation the war was not over and we did everything on our part to reinforce our units surrounding these areas. But, of course, we did not wish to prolong the war, because the aggressor forces, the Yugoslav Army and the Serbian units did not want a cease-fire, did not want the deployment of peacekeeping forces, but wanted the war to spread, to continue beyond these areas. This means that we would not have had some kind of cease-fire, which we have had since 2 December, [corrects himself] 2 January, when the cease-fire was signed in Sarajevo, but we would have had another year of fighting and would not have been internationally recognized.

In that sense, we said that the war for Croatia ended completely, because we forced those who wanted to topple the democratic government and those who wanted to occupy Croatian territories to give up these attempts and to accept the deployment of peacekeeping forces. The peacekeeping forces are here, and even in their presence, the Yugoslav Army and Serbian units have been committing unprecedented crimes. For example, last night they bombarded Slavonski Brod and I do not know how many, six or eight, children were

killed. I have no reliable reports. That is the best indication of the barbaric methods being used by them and of how the defeated army in its last spasms resorts to all kinds of crime; but obviously this is only accelerating their political and military collapse. It is actually speeding up the complete mobilization of world public opinion and will bring about concrete reactions by international factors against this and such policy.

Your third question concerning the next session of the Croatian Assembly was in connection with elections, if I am right. The Croatian Assembly will provide legal conditions for the implementation of elections, which will be held, as I once said, as soon as circumstances allow, and circumstances will allow when the occupying army withdraws from the last inch of Croatian soil. We will do that, i.e. hold elections, also in order to carry out constitutional obligations, because, according to the new democratic constitution that we adopted, we should have held elections within a year to get a new democratic working assembly and to create a new legal system. However, we could not do that because of the war that was imposed on us. As soon as conditions are created, as soon as Croatia is liberated, which will be this month, we will call elections to strengthen our democratic system and the legal system in the whole country. To this effect, the Assembly will adopt addenda to the constitutional law and a law on the electoral unit division of Croatia. Apart from that, the Brussels conference—within the framework of settling all questions regarding the disintegration and dissociation of Yugoslavia and the creation of a new order—has proposed that elections be held as soon as possible so that in those areas that will be under the control and protection of the UN Protection Force [UNPROFOR] the constitutional and legal system will also be established as soon as possible.

[Journalist] The George Bush Administration threatened to throw Serbia out of all international institutions unless it halted its aggression by 29 April. What is your interpretation of the indecisiveness on the part of the international community when we can see now that the aggression has not stopped? Another question: What political solution is the most probable for Bosnia-Herzegovina, I mean a political solution? Do you think that it will in the end remain sovereign and integral, or will it be divided, will it be a unitary state or maybe a cantonized state?

[Tudjman] It is not only the U.S. Government of President Bush, but also representatives of the European Community and the CSCE that promised they would impose some more definite and concrete measures against Serbia and the Yugoslav Army as the aggressors. As you can see now, this has not happened in such a way as to satisfy us in Croatia, who were the victims of that aggression, nor did it satisfy people in Bosnia-Herzegovina. But still, we cannot ignore the fact that efforts of the international diplomacy produced some results, regardless of exacerbation, the world is such as you can see. We, on our part, would wish that these international factors, including the United States as the

leading world power which has the most powerful influence within the process of UN decision-making, would take some more concrete and more effective steps. From the position of conducting world politics, they should hope that these steps would lead toward peace.

It seems to me that we can conclude from this that international factors were surprised at developments that took place here during the disintegration of former Yugoslavia, and even during the disintegration of the former Soviet Union, and that they were not ready nor had solutions for exercising influence over the creation of a new European and international order in these areas.

This proves that the European Community and the CSCE do not have effective mechanisms for curbing aggression. However, it has also proved that there is no unity of views shared by leading factors within the European Community, nor within the United Nations as regards who should be supported and how to organize a new European international order in this area, which is not so simple.

Anyhow, a year ago when the Serbian aggressors and the Yugoslav communist army were planning aggression against Croatia, the toppling of the Croatian democratic government, and the occupation of Croatian territory, they reckoned with such disunity of international factors. One used to hear them saying they would try to realize their goals even at the price of causing a third world war. One could read, and not only read but hear their most responsible people attacking Germany, saying they reckoned with causing a conflict within the European Community between the German, French, English, Italian and other views. They did not speak about that just because of their stupidity and irrationality, but they rather reckoned with these contrary views and misunderstandings within the international community, but still we can state with pleasure that their concepts proved abortive.

Despite everything, despite various views in Europe and in the world, the world and Europe were nevertheless united in condemning the aggression, in their stand that there can be no change of borders through the use of force, that Serbia and the Yugoslav communist army must give up their plans. Therefore, they experienced a complete collapse of their concepts which, as I said, counted on causing a conflict within such international organizations. This has not happened, and this is the extent of their defeat, while the size of our victory is most obviously reflected in the international recognition of Croatia and Slovenia and recently of Bosnia-Herzegovina.

I believe that if the diplomatic action of all international factors, the European Community, the CSCE and the UN Security Council, including the United States, does not succeed in the coming days or weeks at most, then they will be forced to take more concrete and more effective measures.

As far as Bosnia-Herzegovina is concerned, my opinion is that it is currently the central point of the entire crisis on the territory of former Yugoslavia, the same way [sentence as heard]. Bosnia-Herzegovina can survive as an independent, sovereign state if it solves the relations between its three constituent nations on the basis of equality, meaning that these three nations, Croat, Muslim, and Serb should be equal in all respects. This does not mean only in the formal sense but also that their equality in the territorial sense should be guaranteed. If this does not happen, then it is hard to imagine that Bosnia could survive. In any case, the clashes, the brutality of these clashes, the barbaric destruction of entire settlements that were in the way of the Serb-Montenegrin conquest of certain areas, the expulsion of the population from these places, the unheard-of crimes which are taking place there, lead us to the conclusion that, simply, demarcation on the territory of Bosnia-Herzegovina is unavoidable in order for Bosnia-Herzegovina to survive.

What is happening to Bosnia is similar to what happened with the entire Yugoslavia. You are aware that we from Croatia, jointly with Slovenia, proposed that the Yugoslav crisis, that the Yugoslav federation should be transformed into a confederal alliance of sovereign states in order to preserve that Yugoslav community. It was not accepted in Belgrade, not only by the advocates of the old communist view on Yugoslavia and the Serb hegemonist view, but also by those who were linked to Markovic's concept of the professed democratic reform path, who were inclined only to an alleged democratic solution. They proposed to us—from the Serb camp, but it was also partly supported by that reform movement—a democracy, free market, market economy, one citizen-one vote, and that everything would be solved by parliamentary means. It is clear that we had such a democracy, parliamentary democracy and a free market, in the Yugoslavia between the two world wars, and far from solving the problems, it made them worse.

By the same token, it would not have had solved these problems in the present situation when nations, not only on the territory of Yugoslavia but in Europe and the entire world, demand their particular rights, their sovereignty. Accordingly, the non-recognition of these rights on independence, sovereignty—in former Yugoslavia as a whole—led to disintegration. I daresay that if these rights are not guaranteed now on the territory of Bosnia-Herzegovina then it is hard to imagine that Bosnia-Herzegovina could become some kind of a state of citizens as recommended by the Bosnian leadership. This state of citizens creates conditions for one or another kind of majority-forming, causing harm to the others. I think that this is an answer to your question. [passage omitted]

The war in Croatia has produced 500,000 refugees, of whom 300,000 are in our country while the others are in other, neighboring, countries, and in the world. Yesterday's information was about 220,000 refugees from Bosnia-Herzegovina, but today this figure could have

easily gone up to as many as 250,000. This presents economic problems, which, I am telling you, we would have difficulties in resolving even without a war in which we have been exhausted to the limit, but now!

Recently we had a Supreme Council of State meeting. We discussed this matter. We will take steps to ensure an international conference for the solution of this refugee problem is held as soon as possible. [passage omitted]

When will the refugees from Hungary, and only from Hungary, go back to their homes in Baranja and other places as far as Konavli? By the end of this week the UN Protection Force should take over all functions in Baranja and eastern Slavonija; this means that the Yugoslav, the remnants of the Yugoslav, army should withdraw, that Serbian armed units should be disarmed, unless they have withdrawn by then. This is the beginning of the implementation of the conditions for the return of the normal rule of law. This will also signify the start of the implementation of the conditions for the return of these people. From the political-legal point of view their return will be not all that easy, yet relatively simple, where they can go back to their homes, where they have not been destroyed. However, in instances where their houses, their homes, entire settlements, have been destroyed, we will of course be facing a very complex task of ensuring at least temporary accommodation. [passage omitted]

To go back to some of the previous questions. Europe, the United States, and the United Nations, as I have said, are hesitating to act because they do not have clear views on how to establish a new international order in this area. In a way they are trying to satisfy everyone, and it seems to me that some international system planners have advanced more in setting up some Black Sea union than they have done here in southeast Europe. Nonetheless, we are not at the beginning but at the end of this drama. [passage omitted]

[Perincic] Perincic, Croatian Radio. I should like to go back to your previous answer when you talked about Bosnia-Herzegovina and the necessity to have equality of all three nations in that republic. In line with the constitution of the Republic of Croatia our republic, our homeland has a certain duty to look after the Croat people outside our homeland, that is, also in Bosnia-Herzegovina. I should like you to comment on the political and military position of the Croat people in today's war in Bosnia-Herzegovina, and how representatives of our nation in Bosnia-Herzegovina's institutions are articulating the interests, wishes and needs of the Croat people in Bosnia-Herzegovina. Thank you very much.

[Tudjman] You see, I have already answered this question partially. But let me specify. We hold that the interests, and not just the interests but also the existence of the Croat people in Bosnia-Herzegovina, and Bosnia-Herzegovina—let us not go into that—was as you know historically above all the country of the Croatian

kingdom and the Croatian people, but today the situation is the way it is, so we hold that not just the interests but also the existence of the Croat people in Bosnia-Herzegovina can be settled only in the way which would ensure its full constitutional, constituent equality in respect to both other nations which exist in Bosnia-Herzegovina, and in all respects and not just in formal civic aspects etc, but in the territorial sense [sentence as heard].

We recall that when the common state was created, there were 24 percent Croat Catholics, and today they are 17 percent. Under conditions when the independent and sovereign Croat state was created, if in Bosnia-Herzegovina the current situation continues, when for instance—you are people from public media—see whether there are any of you in public information media, television, newspapers etc, whether there are Croats there, they are almost nonexistent or in negligible quantities. Hence, the existence and interests of the Croat people must be secured in every respect. This, I say, can be ensured only if that cantonization which is being discussed is consistently realized along confederal lines. This is one thing.

We had numerous people from Bosnia-Herzegovina among our ranks for the defense of territorial integrity, for the defense of the freedom and democracy of the Republic of Croatia. These people, now when their homes were in jeopardy in Bosnia-Herzegovina, requested to go back to their homeland, to defend their homes and families. We have allowed that and they went there.

People from the enemy lines say in official statements and at press conferences that entire units of the Croatian army are fighting in Bosnia. Then their representative, I do not know whether it was Pavicevic, said that four brigades are in Metkovic. There are four Croatian brigades in Metkovic. It is irrelevant whether there are 4, 3, or 13, because it is Croatian territory, so they are there to thwart the plans of the Yugoslav communist army and the Serbian imperialists to conquer Metkovic and Dubrovnik and so on. This means, we have taken steps to defend militarily our Croatian territory. We have allowed fighters from Bosnia-Herzegovina who were in our army to go there. As you can see, we are giving support, we are receiving refugees from there, and we have also given something else, we have proposed dual nationality for citizens of Bosnia-Herzegovina, Croats and Muslims who want it.

So, we are looking after them, and we want to make it clear that in the geopolitical and historical sense, Croatia cannot give up its concern for Bosnia-Herzegovina, because the Croat people are there. I think that this concern, this help which Croatia is providing, which it shows to all people in Herzegovina and Bosnia, is very clear. [passage omitted]

[Correspondent] Luj Kalevic, the Argentinian weekly (SEMANARIO). Mr. President, in a strictly formal sense, the Yugoslav state, the SFRY, no longer exists.

However, about 3,600 Croatian citizens are being forced to serve in the Yugoslav Army. These are incomplete figures, according to Croatia's Ministry for Defense. What is going to be done about these people, what is their situation? Just one more thing related to this—what conditions will Croatia set for its recognition of this newly emerged Yugoslav state comprising Serbia and Montenegro. Thank you.

[Tudjman] I do not know where you obtained this figure, 3,600. To my knowledge, from our official sources, this figure was 1,600 about a month ago. Recently, some of them were released from the Yugoslav Army. Therefore, one of our demands—which we have been constantly raising, that the Army of ex-Yugoslavia has not met so far despite the international community's pressure—was this one, that is, that these members of the Croatian people, Croatia's citizens, should be released from service.

Understandably, in the course of the dismantling of this ex-Yugoslavia in all aspects, when issues are being debated such as how to divide the former Yugoslav Army's assets, then it is clear that this issue is also at the top of the agenda and that we will insist on that. We insist on this at every international meeting.

As for your second question: These states that are emerging on ex-Yugoslavia's soil will be recognized by Croatia once they have recognized Croatia and once there is no such dispute between them that would call such recognition into question. In any event, we are, since in the past Europe and the world community used to insist on a unified Yugoslavia at all costs... [sentence unfinished as heard]

Now that it has disintegrated, and there is this state of affairs, the international community is insisting on not only normalization as soon as possible, but also on establishing economic, traffic, and God knows what other links. Our standpoint is clear and evident, and we have told the world about it. We have won our independence and sovereignty. Nevertheless, as a sovereign and independent state, we are aware that we cannot live isolated from the area where we are. So if Europe is interested in communications between Western and Eastern Europe and with the Balkans, Greece, Turkey, etc, then of course not only are we not going to hamper this, but we will do our best to ensure that in economic and traffic terms, relations are normalized as soon as possible in this area. We are going to claim war compensation for destruction etc.

The moment mutual recognition is granted, the moment normal conditions are established, we are willing, both for the sake of international interests as well as our own interests, to develop as soon as possible normal relations with every country in this area and Europe. Understandably, this war imposed on us, which we had to wage, will have an impact. In this respect, normalization is not going to be very easy by any account. Croatia is ready to

cooperate in economic, traffic, and all other spheres with all the countries that are willing to recognize Croatia.

[Correspondent] Sjetlana Sporek, Polish Television. Mr. President, given the fact that a Polish battalion is included in the UN peace force here in the Slunj area, we are primarily interested in matters related to UNPROFOR. I am aware that there have been some disputes on their conduct in areas where they have been deployed; that is, as far as I understand, Croatian armed forces have no freedom of action in their protection of these units in this area. One gets the impression that they are merely hampering combat activities imposed from the other side. Would you please comment on this?

[Tudjman] This is precisely why they have been deployed, so that combat activities and operations in those areas can be ended. Consequently, this is one of the crucial prerequisites for their deployment, that is, halting combat activities

and restoring peace in such a way that when political policemen and those who are envisaged to come arrive, the withdrawal can be carried out by the Yugoslav Army's units and that Serbian formations may be disarmed. This is going to be their task. I hope that there will be no problems for this task as a whole. In some places, there will be problems. It means it has disappeared, something that has been acknowledged by Belgrade and Podgorica; meaning the old Yugoslavia exists no longer, so they no longer have even a formal right to be there. So far they have claimed that this is the Yugoslav state. Hence, I hope that this process of the Yugoslav Army's departure and the disarming of Serbian formations will by and large unfold painlessly. I do not, however, believe that this is going to be the case everywhere. In some places, there will be extremists and indoctrinated drunks, and God knows what, who will put up a resistance. Such individuals will, however, be at war not only with Croatia but with the whole world. [passage omitted]

Shelling of Transmitter Hampers Broadcasts*AU0105152292 Ljubljana Radio Slovenia Network
in Slovene 1330 GMT 1 May 92**[Zdenka Bakalar report from Sarajevo]*

[Text] With the exception of Hercegovina, last night and this morning have been rather peaceful. Last night's artillery attack on Mostar incurred further material damage in the already destroyed town. Grenades were also falling on the outskirts of the Siroki Brijeg and Citluk communes. The latter responded with the same intensity. In Capljina, grenades started to fall on the town center just after midnight. The attack, interrupted with shorter breaks, lasted well into the morning. The attack was on this occasion carried out only from the left bank of the Neretva River, as the Yugoslav Army had evacuated the soldiers from the Capljina garrison with helicopters in their one before last attack. Yet another bridge—the one across the Vrbas River near Donji Vakuf—was blown up yesterday afternoon.

The shelling of the Vlasic transmitter [oddajnik] continued last night and this morning. For this reason, broadcasts of the Sarajevo program [as heard] from this transmitter were interrupted this morning. The Vlasic transmitter covers 60 percent of the Bosnia-Herzegovina territory, and if the army of the former Yugoslavia captures it and redirects it to transmit the Serbian program, Sarajevo radio and television would cease to function. The Hum and Bjelasnica transmitters would be the only ones to remain. Numerous other transmitters have already been seized, and they are now broadcasting the programs of Serbian Television.

The Ministry of Internal Affairs of Bosnia-Herzegovina reports that an artillery attack from Vlasenica on nearby Srebrenica started this morning. They also report that the terror against the Muslims continues in the Drina region, that is to say, in the communes that were taken by the Serbian [Democratic] Party. The ministry also claims that a new column of volunteers from Serbia is advancing toward Foca. The day in Sarajevo is peaceful.

Istrian Mayors' Memorandum on Cooperation*92BA0830A Ljubljana DELO in Slovene
18 Apr 92 p 2*

[Article by Boris Suligoj: "They Signed the Document in Spite of the Authorities' Objections"—first paragraph is DELO introduction]

[Text] The memorandum is not binding; an expression of good will and readiness for good-neighborly relations; warnings from experts; an initiative that is not from the top.

Umag, 17 Apr—All the obcina presidents of Slovene and Croatia Istria, with the exception of the president of the Piran obcina, signed a "Memorandum on Encouraging and Improving the Cooperation of the Istrian Obcinas" today at Umag's Hotel Koralj. The document is not binding upon anyone, Koper obcina President Aurelio

Juri thought at the meeting, but it is an expression of good will and readiness for good-neighborly relations and joint resolution of all the issues that affect a majority of the Istrian population in one way or another.

Franko Ficur, the president of the Piran obcina assembly, explained that the Piran committee members did not agree with several parts of the wording of the memorandum, because of which they requested changes. The Piran mayor will be able to sign the memorandum when the Piran assembly studies the changes once more.

Matjaz Jancar, adviser for relations with the neighboring states in the Slovene Foreign Ministry, assessed the efforts of the Istrian obcina presidents as a constructive contribution to regulating relations between the border obcinas and thus also between the neighboring states. At the same time, he also advised them to make several corrections to the text, which, in spite of good intentions, could also possibly be misunderstood. For example, the section of the text that talks about protection of the Croatian minority in Slovenia is like that. Specifically, according to international criteria there is no indigenous Croatian minority in Slovenia, and one could only speak of immigrants. It would likewise be difficult to say that the Italian minority in both states is recognized as having the status of a "unified body," since in spite of efforts to preserve unified treatment of the Italian minority, certain differences have arisen in both states, for objective reasons. In Matjaz Jancar's opinion, it is also unacceptable to talk about demands for dual citizenship, since this could start to divide the citizens of one state into different categories, ghettoization, and in the end we could have "apartheid" of the Italian minority. It would also be unacceptable to talk about the confirmation of "administrative borders." Instead, the word "republic borders" should be used.

Lucijan Benolic, president of the Buje obcina, in response to the comments from the Piran obcina, denied that the position on regionalization in Istria was conceived in the sense of forming a single region outside the state, as it is otherwise being interpreted by several political parties.

Branko Celar of the Slovene Ministry of Internal Affairs explained that the Slovene police were preparing for the approaching tourist season, so that traffic could flow uninterrupted, and for this reason they would also like to establish, as soon as possible, traffic with special passports through border crossings that would be intended primarily for citizens of the two states. Likewise, residents of the border areas, under an agreement on local border traffic, should also have the opportunity again as soon as possible to use the local roads and border crossings that they did in the past.

Assistant Croatian Foreign Minister Vinko Kandzija advised the Istrian mayors not to sign the memorandum discussed today yet, and to wait a week for comments from his ministry. Most of the mayors, of course, did not

want to consent to this. Marko Globevnik, president of the assembly of the community of coastal obcinas from Koper, objected that this was precisely the essence of the agreement among the Istrian mayors, who would like to promote good-neighborly relations along the border without someone from the top's having to prompt them. It should rather be the other way around, and the other participants in today's meeting in Umag were also convinced, in fact, that the republic authorities should pay more attention to the aspirations, desires, and needs of the population that is most bothered by the border.

Law on Investment Companies Approved

92BA0830B Ljubljana DELO in Slovene
18 Apr 92 p 3

[Article by S.C.: "The Government Has Approved a Law That Is Important for Privatization"]

[Text] Ljubljana, 17 Apr—At today's press conference, Minister of Planning Igor Umek briefly presented a proposal for issuing a law on mutual funds, investment companies, and management companies, which the government already approved at yesterday's meeting. According to Umek, this is a quite important institution in market economy systems, and even more so here, since the above-mentioned law is linked to privatization.

It is consequently a law that will make it possible to establish funds intended primarily for the incomes of

small investors. The funds are to be concerned with the security and profitability of the investments. At the same time those funds, by mobilizing savings, should also contribute to economic development. In any case, as emphasized in addition to Umek by Anton Rop, a member of the working group that prepared the law, and Roman Androjna, an adviser to the director of the Development Fund, this law is a general framework for investment and mutual funds, which are necessary for the functioning of a capital market.

In addition to this, the law, as we heard, also constitutes an important infrastructure for privatization, and especially for investment companies. These will be closed, in contrast to the mutual funds. This is supposed to mean that shareholders in such companies cannot request that a management company purchase shares in the investment company, but they can sell them in the securities market. In the case of mutual funds, as the law now provides, the owner of an investment coupon will be able to sell the coupon to the mutual fund at any time, and thus get out of the mutual fund.

The start-up capital of a company for management of a mutual fund is to amount to 100,000 ECU's. The company is to ensure an additional 50,000 ECU's for managing each successive fund. Otherwise, the permanent capital of a mutual fund is to be 200,000 ECU's, and the permanent capital of an investment company is to be 300,000 ECU's.

International

Adzic, Goulding Discuss Bosnia Crisis

LD0405174192 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service
in Serbo-Croatian 1715 GMT 4 May 92

[Text] Belgrade, 4 May (TANJUG)—Acting Federal Secretary for National Defense Colonel General Blagoje Adzic and his aides had talks today with UN Undersecretary for Peacekeeping Operations Marrack Goulding.

A statement of the Federal Secretariat for National Defense says that the participants in the open and comprehensive talks exchanged views on the causes of the sudden exacerbation of the crisis in Bosnia-Herzegovina and the possibilities for deploying UN peacekeeping forces in that republic in order to overcome the crisis.

Federal

Presidency Says Izetbegovic Broke Agreements

LD0405185892 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service
in Serbo-Croatian 1813 GMT 4 May 92

[Text] Belgrade, 4 May (TANJUG)—At its session today, presided over by Vice President Branko Kostic, the Yugoslav Presidency discussed recent events in Bosnia-Herzegovina. According to the Presidency's information office, the following conclusions have been reached:

The Presidency of Yugoslavia noted that Alija Izetbegovic, president of one part of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Presidency, unilaterally breached an agreement reached in Skopje to continue negotiations on how to resolve the status and the transformation of the Yugoslav People's Army (JNA) in Bosnia-Herzegovina in a peaceful way. Despite a general agreement that the Bosnia-Herzegovina crisis can be resolved only on the basis of negotiations between the three equal nations, Alija Izetbegovic proceeded to issue an order to blockade the JNA barracks and to start armed attacks on JNA members on the entire territory of Bosnia-Herzegovina. It is clear that this act was designed to cancel all previous efforts and agreements to carry out the transformation of the JNA in Bosnia-Herzegovina in accordance with political negotiations between the three constituent nations being conducted at the EC-sponsored conference in Lisbon. This led to a serious escalation of the conflict.

Despite all this, the Presidency of Yugoslavia concluded that the detention of Alija Izetbegovic, president of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Presidency, in Army barracks served only to worsen the already difficult situation in that republic. The Presidency stresses that his detention was carried out without either consultation with or the approval of the Presidency of Yugoslavia. The Presidency was informed at a later stage that Alija Izetbegovic's detention was prompted by concern for his own safety in light of the armed clashes in the vicinity. Having received this information, the Presidency of

Yugoslavia upheld the view that Alija Izetbegovic should be allowed to leave the barracks freely as soon as conditions were favorable. This was done to facilitate the resumption of efforts to search for a political solution to the crisis in a peaceful way.

The ensuing events showed that Alija Izetbegovic broke all agreements, including UN Protection Force guarantees, regarding the safe passage of a military column from the Command in the city center to barracks in Lukavica. Thereby, a grave crime was committed which, following its tragic outcome, has jeopardized the settlement of the crisis, which obviously was Alija Izetbegovic's aim.

Despite the latest tragic events, the Yugoslav Presidency remains firm in its conviction that the resolution of the crisis in Bosnia-Herzegovina is possible only if based on equal negotiations between the three constituent nations, which undoubtedly was confirmed by the progress made at the Lisbon conference on Bosnia-Herzegovina.

In the continuation of its session, the Yugoslav Presidency is considering the implementation of its 27 April decision to reduce the Yugoslav Army in proportion to its territory.

Adzic Promises Soldiers' Protection in Bosnia

LD0405194192 Belgrade TANJUG in English
1824 GMT 4 May 92

[Text] Belgrade, May 4 (TANJUG)—The Yugoslav Army (JNA) will do everything in its power to secure an end to conflicts and to protect the lives of Army members in the former Yugoslav Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina, acting Yugoslav secretary for national defense, General Blagoje Adzic said today.

Gen. Adzic gave the promise to parents of soldiers who are serving their military service in Bosnia-Herzegovina, the Yugoslav Secretariat for National Defense has announced. Gen. Adzic received the parents after some 100 of them rallied outside the Yugoslav Defense Ministry this morning. They demanded that their sons be brought back from this republic, where fierce ethnic and religious clashes are under way and where Moslem-Croat paramilitary forces are attacking the Yugoslav Army and Serbs.

The parents, upset over the massacre of Yugoslav Army soldiers in Sarajevo, pasted two signs on the front doors of the ministry building. The slogans on the signs read "Stop the killing of young and innocent soldiers" and "Order our recruits back immediately."

Today's protest was caused by yesterday's brutal attack by the Moslem-Croat territorial defense of Bosnia-Herzegovina on a convoy of Yugoslav Army vehicles which were pulling out of the command of the Second Yugoslav Army District in Sarajevo, as agreed with

President of the incomplete Presidency of Bosnia-Herzegovina Alija Izetbegovic. At least two Yugoslav Army officers and two soldiers were killed in the attack, and 15 were wounded, military sources have reported. However, it is feared that the number of killed soldiers is higher because some were left lying at the site of the attack, and there are no communication lines with the Yugoslav military hospital in Sarajevo.

On Saturday [2 May], the Moslem paramilitary Green Berets attacked a Yugoslav Army convoy in central Sarajevo. Sources of the Green Berets have said that the Yugoslav Army suffered 350 casualties, including 150 dead. The Army was not even allowed to collect its dead and wounded from the streets.

FRY Citizens in JNA To Leave Bosnia

LD0405214792 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2125 GMT 4 May 92

[Text] Belgrade, 4 May (TANJUG)—The Yugoslav Presidency decided today that all citizens of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (FRY) who are members of the Yugoslav People's Army (JNA) in Bosnia-Herzegovina must return to the territory of Yugoslavia within 15 days, it has been revealed today.

A statement from the Yugoslav Presidency session says:

"The Yugoslav Presidency, at a session held on 4 May and chaired by Vice President Branko Kostic, has considered the implementation of its decision made on 27 April on reducing the size of the Yugoslav Army in proportion to the territory and the number of citizens of the FRY.

"It also has endorsed a report by the Supreme Command Staff about the course of the implementation of that decision, and concluded that all remaining citizens of the FRY who are JNA members in Bosnia-Herzegovina should be returned speedily to the territory of Yugoslavia within 15 days at the latest."

Commentary Examines Bosnia-Herzegovina Crisis

AU0405202492 Belgrade Radio Beograd Network in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 4 May 92

[Text] A synchronized action that has been approved by the Bosnia-Herzegovina Presidency is under way in Sarajevo and throughout Bosnia-Herzegovina. Mijusko Tomic's commentary is based on the information of military sources:

[Begin Tomic recording] We expect that the attacks on military installations and warehouses will intensify in the regions that are current peaceful. All previous experiences suggest this because these are planned combat activities against the Yugoslav Peoples' Army (JNA) units, which will, as is expected, become even sharper.

Yesterday's thought-out game by Alija Izetbegovic [president of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Presidency] in Sarajevo, when a JNA column was attacked, speaks sufficiently of the unsurpassed genocidal nature of Muslim fundamentalism. In an attack on a section of the Army's convoy that was carried out by the Muslim militia commanded by (?Temin Srakic), 45 JNA members were cut off. TANJUG correspondent Milos Jevtovic and VECERNJE NOVOSTI correspondent Svetozar Djonovic are among the prisoners. NARODNA ARMIJA reporters Lieutenant Nikola Ostojic and Captain Miladin Petrovic are also among the journalists who were put into prison by Alija Izetbegovic's assistant [word indistinct] Dzeko. Although all these journalists are permanently registered with the Federal Defense Secretariat and although they were on this occasion also registered with the Bosnia-Herzegovina Ministry of Internal Affairs in order to report the truth about the events that were taking place there, their fate is now uncertain. [word indistinct] that were not noted even during World War II, as the crime of fascism—and Izetbegovic and Muslim fundamentalism are nothing but this—[word indistinct] is leaving traces of unprecedented genocide on the history of humanity.

The Croatian Army on the territory of Western Herzegovina continues to concentrate its forces in the region in agreement with Alija. A unit of [word indistinct] battalion, that is to say 4,000 to 8,000 members of the paramilitary formations, has recently arrived in the region of (?Kutlovac), where the reserve Croatian Army has been situated. They are obviously supplementing the units that suffered substantial losses in the previous events and combat activities. One Croatian Defense Force (HOS) unit, which has plenty of wounded, is situated in Siroki Brijeg. Members of the Croatian National Guard Crops and HOS are relaxing in Metkovic and in the hotels of Makarska so that they can be rested when they resume combat activities against the JNA and the Serbian people.

As we have learned from the military sources, the command of the Croatian army in the Herzegovina battlefield is facing numerous problems. There is a lack of discipline, they are arguing, those who had arrived [word indistinct] are fighting each other, and there are also dead. Perhaps one day or soon [Croatian president] Mr. Franjo Tudjman will accuse the JNA for all this just as his peer [strojodostojnik] Alija Izetbegovic is doing in Bosnia-Herzegovina. [end recording]

First Issue of Official Gazette Renamed, Published

LD0505032392 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1008 GMT 4 May 92

[Excerpt] Belgrade, 4 May (TANJUG)—The first issue of SLUZBENI LIST SAVEZNE REPUBLIKE JUGOSLAVIJE (SRJ) [Official Gazette of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, FRY] has been published. In

keeping with the new system and name of the Yugoslav state, it replaces SLUZBENI LIST SFRJ [SFRY Official Gazette].

Dated 27 April, the complete issue was devoted to the new Yugoslav constitution, and accompanying documents adopted by the Federal Chamber of the SFRY Assembly and proclaimed on that very day. [passage omitted]

Kosovo

Concentration of Army Reported Along Borders

AU0105153292 Ljubljana Radio Slovenia Network
in Slovene 1330 GMT 1 May 92

[Text] The Information Center of the Democratic Alliance of Kosovo today warned that military forces are concentrating in several parts of Kosovo, especially along the border with Macedonia and Albania. During the previous days, Serbs and Montenegrins were asked to report to Kosovo barracks. From Mitrovica, the arrival of a larger number of Serbian reservists has been reported. The Information Center of the Democratic Alliance of Kosovo also reports that arms continue to be distributed among the Serbs and Montenegrins, which is additionally complicating the already tense situation in Kosovo.

Albanians Planning Multiparty Elections 24 May

LD0405224292 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service
in Serbo-Croatian 1111 GMT 4 May 92

[Text] Pristina, 4 May (TANJUG)—The first multiparty "Albanian" elections in Kosovo will be held on 24 May this

year. A decision on this, as the Pristina newspaper "SKEND-LJA" writes, was adopted by the deputies in the former "Kosovo Assembly" which was abolished by the Serbian Assembly less than two years ago, and which proclaimed itself to be the Assembly of the "Republic of Kosovo."

The article does not specify the venue of the "Assembly session," nor any other details, but it adds that the elections will be held "in extraordinary conditions, as a result of the occupation of Kosovo by Serbia."

Judging by articles in press in the Albanian language, the future "parliament" of the Kosovo Albanians, as envisaged by Albanian political factors, will have 140 deputies. As it was announced, at the first, constitutive session [of the Kosovo parliament], president of "the Republic of Kosovo" will be elected, although the "Kacanik constitution" [constitution of the Republic of Kosovo adopted by deputies in the Kosovo Assembly in summer 1990 in the village of Kacanik in Kosovo] envisaged the appointment of presidency members as a collective "head of state." The deputies will appoint a president of the "parliament," as well as a president of the new "republican government of Kosovo".

This is yet another confirmation that Albanians will not participate in the forthcoming local elections in Serbia, but that they will hold "their elections" a week before that. Talking about the local elections in Serbia, the chairman of the Democratic Alliance of Kosovo [Demokratski savez Kosova], Ibrahim Rugova, said at his last press conference that Albanians would not gain anything in them. "We held our referendum on Kosovo's independence, and we will try to realize the people's will expressed at the referendum," Rugova said.